

These verses have by deeds of arms made good
 What thou hast promised by birth and blood
 In those comage men's turn'd edge being back with wife
 And laborer's hand being with wife
 Look on the world from the top of the hill
 King of the world, look on the world
 And what his world's in him, what his world
 With his world's in him, what his world
 What his world's in him, what his world
 One's eye but the world's eye, and world's eye
 Why may we not see his world's eye
 The second part of the world's eye

VERSES

COMMENTARIES

VERSES
 COMMENTARIES

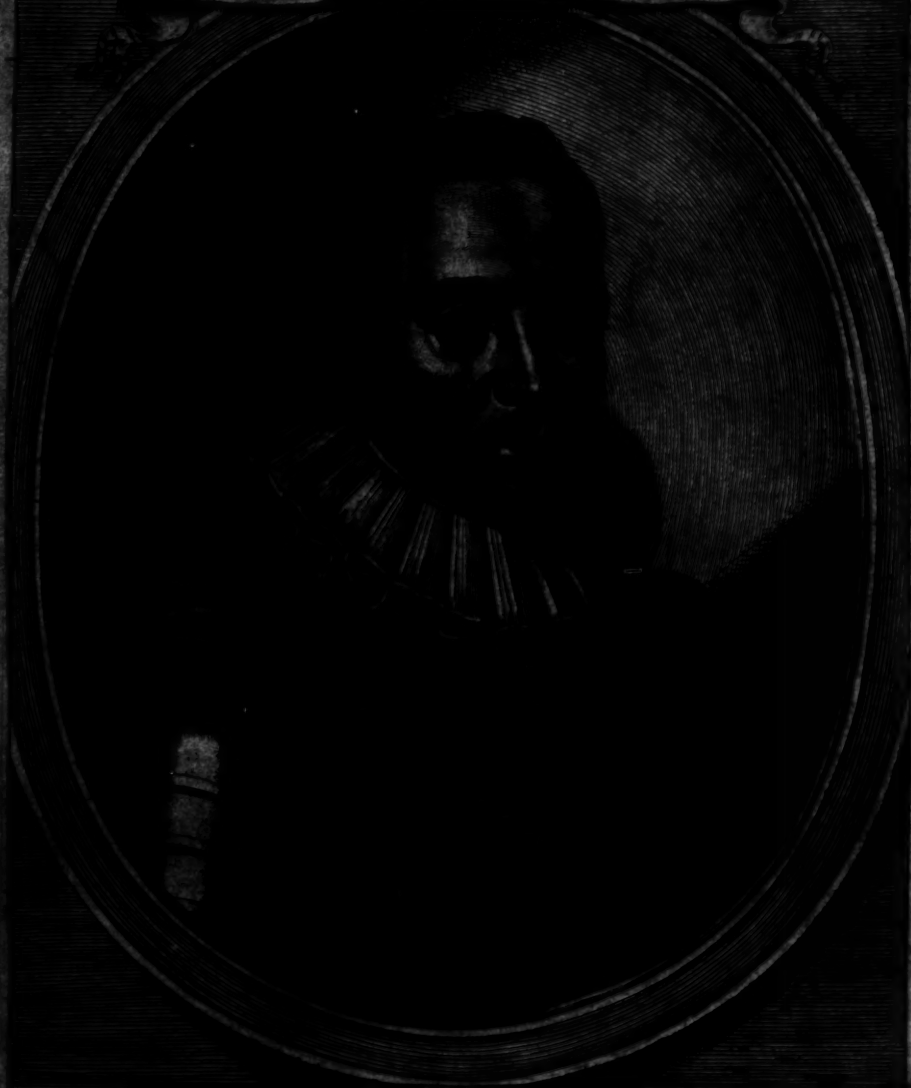
Brave Vere! who hast by deeds of arms made good
What thou hadst promised by birth and bloud;
Whose courage ner'e turn'd edge, being backt with wise
And sober reason, sharpned with advise.
Look (Reader) how from Newport hills he throws
Himself a thunder-bolt amongst his foes;
And what his Sword indited, that his Pen
With like success doth here fight ore agen:
What Mars performed Mercurie doth tell;
None ere but Cesar fought and wrote so well.
Why may not then his Book this title carry,
The second part of Cesar's Commentary?

VERI SCIPIDÆ
duo fulmina belli.

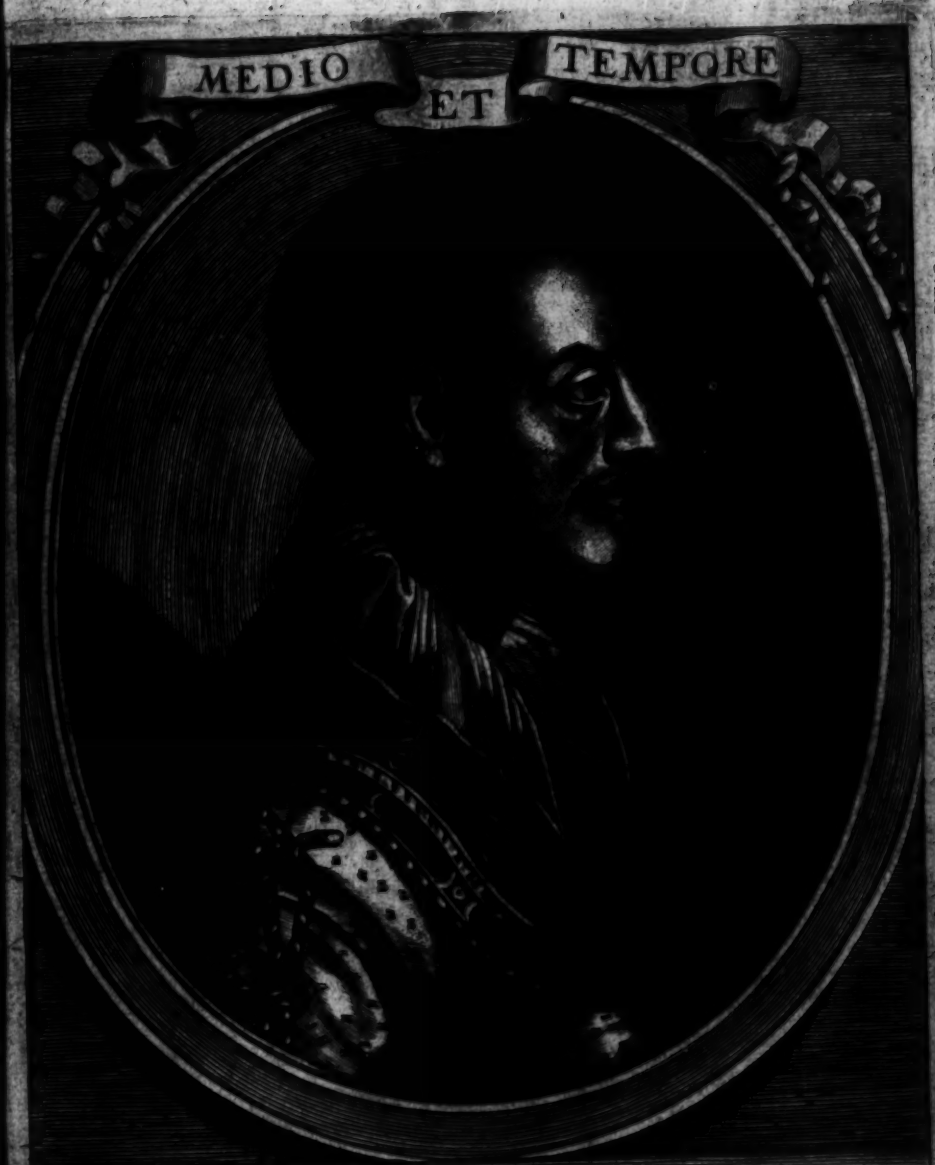
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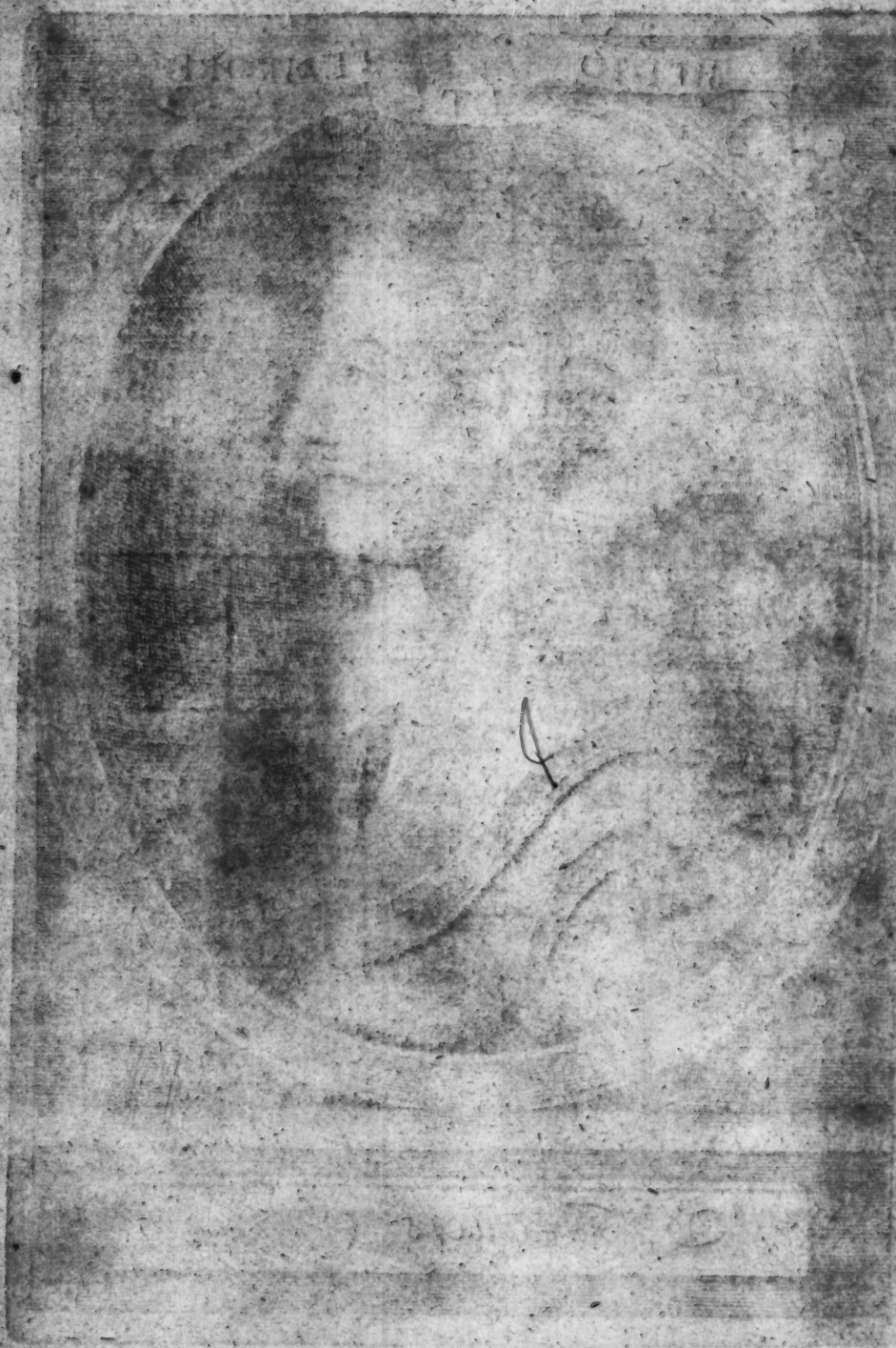
VERO NIHIL VERIVS



ST. HORACE VERE *since* Baron of Tilbury.



S^r Francis Vere



THE
COMMENTARIES
OF

S^r Francis Vere,

Giving an Account

Of divers Remarkable SIEGES, FIGHTS, and other
Eminent Services, both at Sea and Land, performed
by him for the DUTCH, in the

Low-Countreys.

In which may easily be discerned to what Greatness
they have been raised by the *English Arms*, under
the Conduct of our Valiant *HEROES*.

PUBLISHED

By *WILLIAM DILLINGHAM, D.D.*

Ut VERUS in suis Commentariis prodidit. Camd. Annal.
Mibi sufficit hec summatione VERI Commentario annotasse.
Idem Ibid.

LONDON,

Printed and are to be sold by *Peter Parker*, at the Sign of the
Leg, over against the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhil*, 1672.

COMMENTARIES

OF
St. Francis Vere

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OF VERUS in the Commentaries prædictis. Cambr. Annal.
and the last Edition of VERUS Commentaries prædictis.
idem ibid.

LONDON

Printed and are to be sold by Peter Parker, at the Sign of the
Key over against the North Exchange in Cornhill, 1677.

TO
THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
HORACE TOWNSHEND,
BARONET.

Right Worshipfull,

I Here present you with the *Works*,
that is, with the *Actions* and *wri-
tings* of your great Uncle, Sir
Francis Vere; unto which as you
have a right by blood, common
to some others with you; so have you also right
by purchase, proper and peculiar to your self a-
lone, having freely contributed to adorn the Im-
pression, wherein you have consulted as the Rea-
ders delight and satisfaction, so the honour and
reputation of your family. I have read of one,
that used to wear his fathers picture alwaies a-
bout him, that by often looking thereon he
might be reminded to imitate his vertues, and to
admit of nothing unworthy the memory of such
an Ancestour; Now Sir, I think you shall not
need any other monitour then your own name,
if but as often as you write it, or hear it spoken,
you recall into your thoughts those your Proge-
nitours, who contributed to it; your Honoured

The Epistle Dedicatory.

father, Sir Roger Townshend, and your Grandfather the truly Honourable and valiant the Lord Vere of Tilbury, men famous in their generations for owning religion, not onely by profession, but also by the practise and patronage of it; whose vertues while you shall make the pattern of your imitation, you will increase in favour with God and men, and answer the just expectations of your countrey. And that you may so do it is the earnest desire, and hearty prayer of

Sir,

Your respectfull friend,

and humble servant,

William Dillingham.

To

To the ingenious Reader.



Although this book can neither need nor admit of any letters recommendatory from so mean a hand, yet I thought it not incongruous to give thee some account of it, especially coming forth so many years after the Authours death.

Know then, that some years since it was my good hap to meet with a copy of it in a library of a friend, which had been either transcribed from, or at least compared with another in the owning and possession of Major-General Skippon, which I had no sooner looked into, but I found my self led on with exceeding delight to the perusal of it. The gallantry of the Action, the modesty of the Authour, & the becomingness of the stile did much affect me; and I soon resolv'd that such a treasure could not without ingratitude to the Authour and his Noble Family, nor without a manifest injury to the repate of our English Nation, yea and unto truth it self, be any longer concealed in obscurity.

Whereupon I engaged my best endeavours to bring it into the publick view; but finding some imperfections and doubtfull places in that copy, I gave my self to further inquiry after some other copies, supposing it very improbable that they should all stumble at the same stone. And so I was favoured with another copy out of the increasing Library of the Right Honourable the Earl of Westmorland, which had been transcribed immediately from the Authours own; another the Honourable the Lord Fairfax was pleased to afford me the perusal of; but that which was instar omnium was the original it self, written by the Authours own hand, being the goods and treasure of the

The Epistle to the Reader.

Right Honourable Earl of Clare, but at present (through his favour) in my possession. These (Reader) are the Personages, whose favour herein I am, even upon thy account, obliged here to remember and acknowledge.

I have subjoyned Sir John Ogles account of the last charge at Neuport-battel; whom I suppose our Authour himself would have allowed, being his Lieutenant-Colonel, to bring up the reere. I have also inserted his account of the Parly at the siege of Ostend, both communicated to me by the same friendly hand, that first lent me the copy of Sir Francis Vere. And for thy further satisfaction, I have adventured to continue the story of that siege, from the time that our Authour put up his pen, to the time that he put up his sword there, having first by his example taught others the way how to defend the town. Last of all, at the end of the book thou wilt meet with the History of Neuport-battel, written some time since in Latine by an elegant and learned pen; which, for the consanguinity of it, is here subjoyned. But if any shall take upon them to censure him, as having translated Sir Francis Vere, without acknowledging of him for the Authour, I have this to answer on his behalf, viz. that as he doth no where deny his translating of him, so that he did conceal it, we may very well impute it to the desire he had, both to afford Sir Francis Vere a more ample and advantageous character, then his own modesty would permit him to assume unto himself; and also to give in his testimony unto the truth, in a matter which others his countrymen had with too much partiality related. And this also let me further add, that whether he did translate it or not; yet this, I suppose, will not be questioned, that very few Authours, either ancient or modern, have in so narrow a compass so highly deserved of the learned and ingenious Reader, as he hath done.

I will not here mention any thing concerning our Authours life or extraction, the one whereof is sufficiently known; and for the

The Epistle to the Reader.

the other I shall content my self with what Sir Robert Naunton hath briefly written of him, which I have printed here before the Book; which is all but a larger Commentary upon that which he hath there delivered. Onely give me leave to be-moan a little our own loss, and the Authours unhappiness in this, That his Noble Brother having been in courage equal, and in hazards undivided, should leave him here to go alone. For, as he must be allowed a great share in these actions recorded by his Brother, so were his own services afterwards, when General of the English, so eminent and considerable, that they might easily have furnished another Commentary, had not his own exceeding modesty proved a step-mother to his deserved praises. He was a religious, wise, and valiant Commander, and (that which quartered him in the bosome of the Prince of Orange) he was always successfull in his enterprises; sometimes to the admiration both of friends and enemies. Take an instance or two. When he took Scluy, there was one strong hold first to be taken, which he found some difficulty to overcome, and that was the opinion of his friends of the impossibility of the enterprise. And for his enemies, Spinola himself (were he now alive) would, I question not, do him the right, which he did him in his life-time, and bear witness of his gallant retreat with four thousand men from between his very fingers, when with three times that number he had grapsed up the Prince and his men against the Sea-shore.

And because the proficiencie of the Scholars was ever accounted a good argument of their Masters abilitie; I shall make bold (with their leaves) here to give you a list of some of his.

Henry

The Epistle to the Reader.

Henry Earl of Oxford.	S. William Lovelace, Cap.
Thomas Lord Fairfax.	S. Rob. Carey, Captain.
S. Edward Vere, Lieut. Col.	S. Jacob Ashley, Captain.
S. Sim. Harcourt, Ser. Maj.	S. Tho. Conway, Capt.
S. Thom. Dutton, Captain.	S. John Burlacy, Captain.
S. Henry Raiton, Captain.	S. Tho. Winne, Captain.
S. John Burroughs, Capt.	S. Ger. Herbert, Captain.
S. Thomas Gates, Captain.	S. Edw. Harwood, Capt.
S. John Conyers, Captain.	S. Mich. Everid, Captain.
S. Thomas Gale, Captain.	

Besides divers others, whose effigies do at once both guard and adorn Kirby-hall in Essex, where the truly religious and Honourable the Lady Vere doth still survive, kept alive thus long by special providence, that the present age might more then read and remember what was true Godliness in eighty eight. And as for her Lord and Husband, who died long since, though he left no heir Male behind him to bear his name, yet hath he distributed his bloud to run in the veins of many Honourable and Worshipfull families in England: for his daughters were, The Right Honourable, Honourable and vertuous; The Countess of Clare, The Lady Townshend, now Countess of Westmorland; The Lady Paulet; The Lady Fairfax, and Mistris Worstenholme. Whose pardon I crave for making so bold with their names, but my hope is they will be willing to become witnesses unto their Uncles book, (though a war-like birth) and to let their names midwife it into the world. Thus (Reader) have I given thee a brief account of this piece, and so recommend me to Sir Francis Vere.

W. D.

In the mapp of the Low-countries the graver hath set the Fort of Mardyk on the wrong side of Dunkerke. In the Epistle to the Reader lin. 8. read in the.

Sir Robert Naunton in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 41.

VERE.

Sir Francis Vere was of that ancient, and of the most noble extract of the Earls of Oxford, and it may be a question whether the Nobility of his House, or the Honour of his achievements might most commend him; but that we have an authentick rule:

*Nam genus, & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco, &c.*

For though he was an Honourable slip of that ancient tree of Nobility, which was no disadvantage to his vertue, yet he brought more glory to the name of Vere, then he took blood from the family.

He was amongst all the Queens Sword-men inferiour unto none, but superiour to many; of whom it may be said, *To speak much of him were the way to leave out somewhat that might add to his praise, and to forget more that would make to his honour.*

I find not that he came much to the Court; for he lived almost perpetually in the Camp; but when he did, none had more of the Queens favour, and none less envied; for he seldome troubled it with the noise and alarms of supplications, his way was another sort of undermining.

They report that the Queen, as she loved Martial men, would court this Gentleman as soon as he appeared in her presence, and surely he was a souldier of great worth and Command; thirty years in the service of the States, and twenty years over the English in chief, as the Queens General. And he that had seen the battel at Newport, might there best have taken him, and his Noble brother, the Lord of Tilbury, to the life.

The

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S. Fr. Veres Monument, next after the Epistle to the Reader.

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The *effigies* of *S. John Ogle*, p. 106.

The mapp of *Ostend*, p. 118.

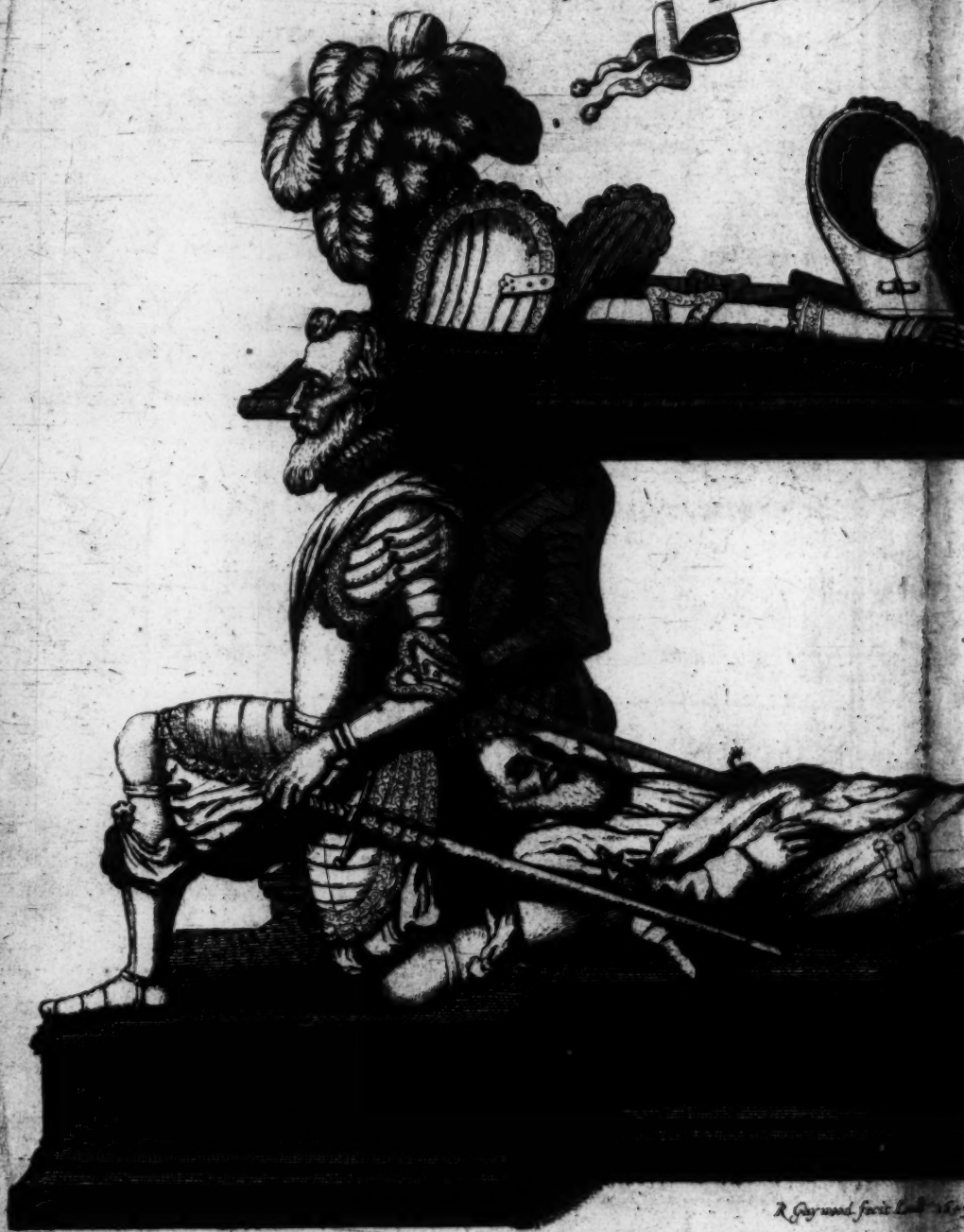
ERRATA.

Page 27. line 8. *dele*, in the. p. 32. lin. last, put the parentheses after *Calesta*. pag. 132. lin. 22. for *split*, read *split*. p. 147. l. 16. r. among the rest came that.



WESTMONASTERII:

DEO EXERC

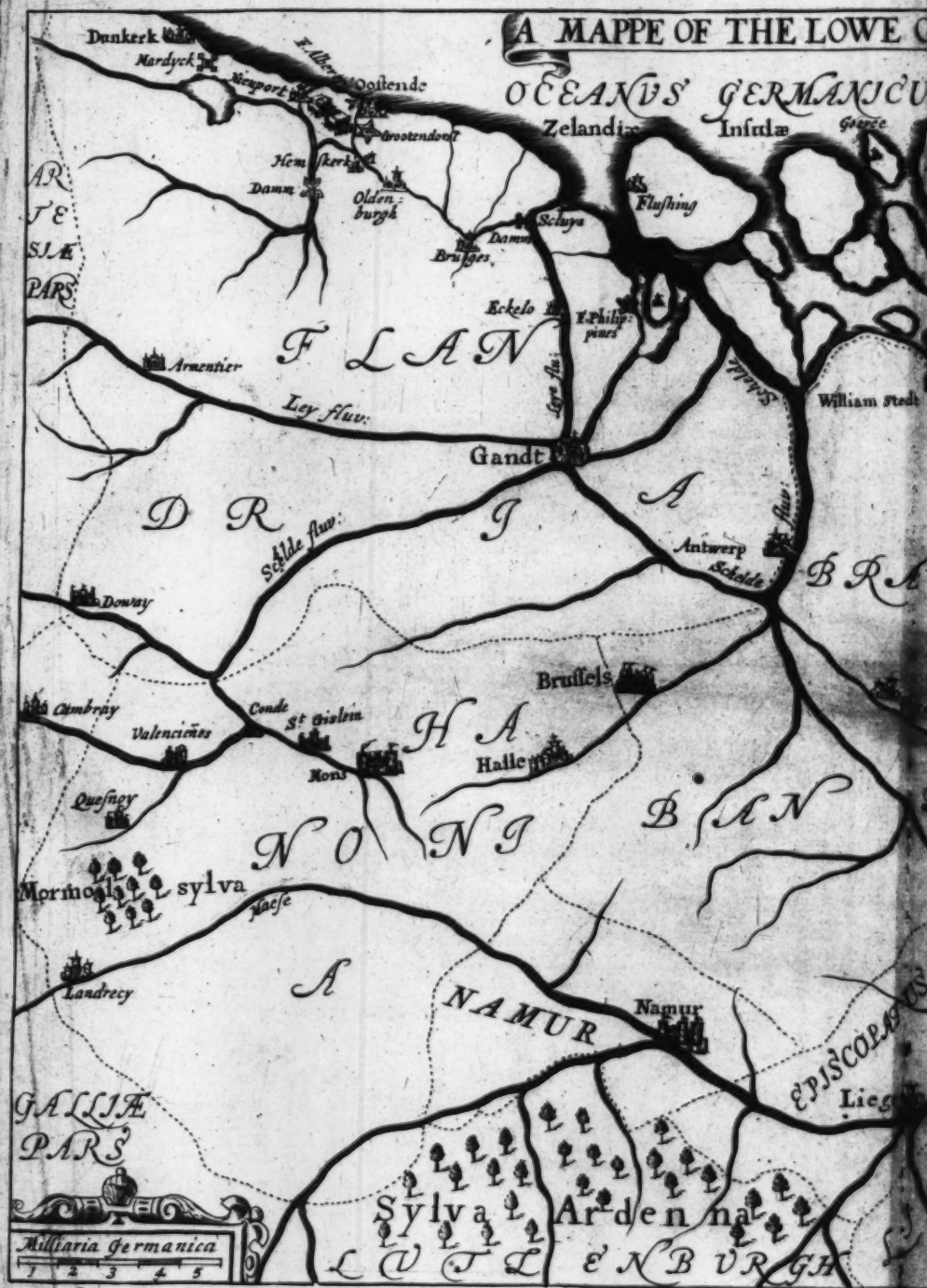


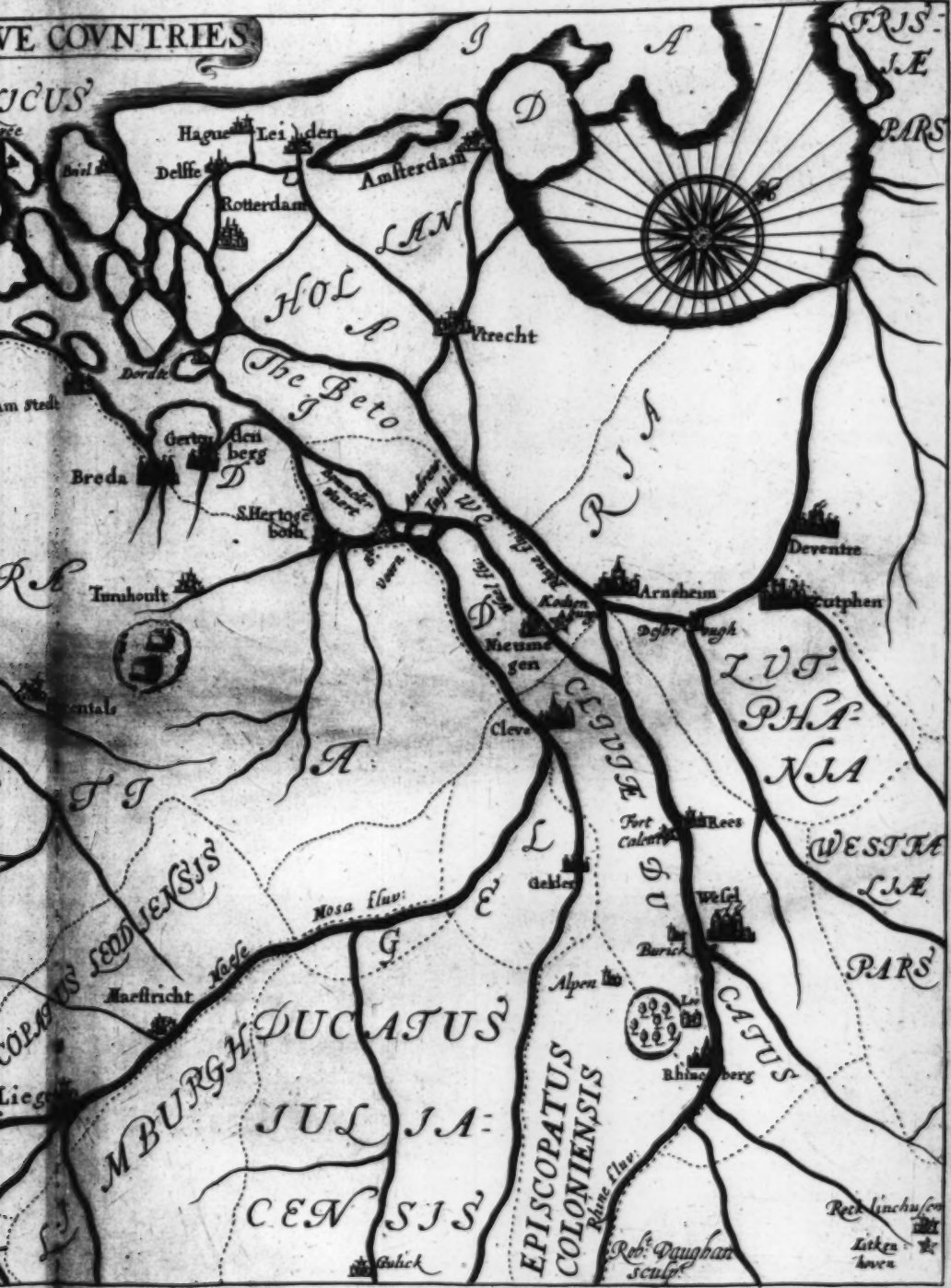
FRANCISCO VERO, Equiti Aurato, Galfredi F. Ioannis Copul/
Anglicarum copiarum in Belgio Ductori Summo; ELIZABETHA
mum amoris et fidei conjugalis monumentum massissima et cum Lacrymis Gementi

ERCITVVM S



Comitis Oxoniae Nepoti, Brieliae et Portsmouthae Praefecto,
 THA uxor viro Charissimo, quocum Coniunctissime vixit, hoc Supre-
 mo obit. Obiit xxviii Die Augusti, Anno Salutis MDCVIII et anno Aetatis Suae LIII.





POLAND.

A MAPPE OF
THE SEA COASTS

Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Antwerp

GERMANIE

Paris

FRANCE

Alpes

Venice

Genoa

Florence

Avignon

Narbonne

Barcelonne

Rome

Naples

COR
SI
CA

SAR
DI
NIA

SEA

MAGD L A N D

Palermo
SICILIE

P. Farina

Tunis

Algiers

BARBARIE

Robt. Vaughan sculp.

1790

A MAP OF THE SEA COAST

OF THE





thousand men; and therefore the Count Ma-
we and the Count one day doing the

COMMENTARIES

OF:
S. FRANCIS VERE.

the importance of the place, and for the repu-
tation of the Count Maurice (this being the

BOMMELERWAERT.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred eighty and nine, the Count Charles Mansfeldt having passed with part of his armie into the Bommeler-Waert, (the rest lying in Brabant over against the island of Voorn) prepared both troops to passe into the said island with great store of flat-bottomed boats, his artillerie being placed to the best advantage to favour the enterprife.

The Count Maurice had to impeach him not above eight hundred men, the whole force that he was then able to gather together not being above fifteen hundred men, whereof the most were dispersed alongst the river of Wael, fronting the Bommeler-Waert; to impeach the enemies passage into the Betuwe: Of these eight hundred men six hundred were *English*, of which my self had the command.

These seemed small forces to resist the enemy, who was then reckoned about twelve thousand men; and therefore the Count Maurice and the Count Hildock, one day doing me the honour to come to my quarter, put it in deliberation, whether it were not best to abandon the place: whereunto when others inclined, my opinion was, That in regard of the importance of the place, and for the reputation of the Count Maurice (this being the first enterprise wherein he commanded in person as chief) it could not be abandoned (but with much reproach) without the knowledge and order of the States General: and that therefore they were first to be informed in what state things stood; I undertaking in the mean time the defence of the place. Which counsel was followed, and I used such industry both in the intrenching of the island, and planting artillery, that the enemy in the end desisted from the enterprise.

The Count Maurice had to intrench him not above eight hundred men, the whole force that he was then able to gather together not being above fifteen hundred men, the most of the island was dispersed along the river of Helle, leaving the remainder to be employed in the defence of the place. Of these eight hundred men six hundred were of which my self had the com-

The relief of **RHINBERGH**

IN the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred eighty nine, the town of *Bergh* upon the *Rhyne* being besieged by the *Marquesse of Warrenbon*, and distressed for want of victuals, I was sent to the Count *Meurs*, governour of *Gelderland*, by the States, with nine companies of English.

At my coming to *Arnhem*, where he lay in a storehouse of munitions, in giving order for things necessary for his expedition, the powder was set on fire, and he so sorely burnt, that he died within few dayes after.

The States of that province called me before them, told me in what extremity the town was, the importance of the place, and facility in succouring it, desiring me to proceed in the enterprize, which I did willingly assent unto, and they appointed seven companies of their own nation to joyn with me, which were to be left in *Bergh* in lieu of so many other companies to be drawn out thence.

To the Count *Oversteyn* (a young Gentleman, and then without any charge, as a kinsman & follower of the Count of *Meurs*) they gave the command of twelve companies of horse. With these troops we passed to the fort *Caleti*, made by *Skink* over against *Rees*, where finding the carriages appointed for that purpose ready laden with provisions, we marched towards *Bergh*, taking our way through a

heathy and open countrey, and so with diligence surprizing the enemy, who lay dispersed in their forts about the town, in full view of them put our provisions into the town, and so returned to the said fort by *Rees*, the same way we had gone.

*The second relieving of***RHINBERGH.**

After some dayes refreshing, it was thought good by the States (new provision of victuals being made) who in the mean time had advice how things had passed, that we should with all speed put in more provisions, being advertized that the enemy gathered great forces in *Brabant*, under the conduct of the Count *Mansfeldt*, for the streight besieging of the Town; which made us hasten, and withall take the ordinary and ready way near the *Rhine-side*: but because it was shorter, and not so open as the other, and so more dangerous, if perchance the enemy with his full power should encounter us; and because there were upon it certain small redoubts held by the enemy, we took along with us two small field-pieces.

When we came within two English miles of *Bergh*, at a castle called *Loo*, which stands on the side of a thick wood within musket-shot of the way, we were to take through the said

saide wood, being very narrow and hemmed in on both sides with exceeding thick underwoods, such (as I guesse) as those dangerous places of *Ireland*, the enemy from the castle first shewed themselves, and then came out towards the place along the skirt of the wood; to gall our men and horses in their passage, with such bravery, as I might well perceive they were not of the ordinary garrison.

I first sent out some few shot to beat them back, giving order to our vantguard in the mean time to enter the passage, and the Dutch footmen to follow them, and the horsmen, and carriages, with orders to passe with all diligence to the other side of the place, and then to make a stand untill the rest of the troops were come up to them, keeping with my self (who stayed in the rereward) fiftie horse and six trumpeters, and all the *English* foot. In the mean time, the enemy seconded their troops of shot with to the number of four or five hundred, in so much as I was forced to turn upon greater numbers, with resolution to beat them home to their castle, which was so thoroughly performed, that afterwards they gave us leave to passe more quietly.

When the rest of the troops were passed, I made the *English* enter the streight, who were divided into two troops, of which I took an hundred men, with six drums, placing them in the rereward of ~~all~~ my self with the fifty horse marching before them and the rest of the *English* footmen. This streight is about a
B 3 quarter

quarter of an English mile long, and hath about the middle of it another way, which cometh into it from *Alpen* a small town not far off.

When we were past this crosse way, we might hear a great shout of mens voices redoubled twice or thrice, as the Spanish maner is when they go to charge; but by reason of the narrowness and crookednesse of the place, had no sight of them. I presently caused the troops to march faster, and withall gave order to the trumpeters and drums that were with me to stand and sound a charge; whereupon there grew a great stilnesse amongst the enemy, who (as I afterward understood by themselves) made a stand expecting to be charged.

In the mean time we went as fast from them as we could, till we had gotten the plain; then having rid to the head of the troops, who were then in their long and single orders; and giving directions for the embatteling of them, and turning their faces towards the streight, and the mouths of the pieces also, and so riding along the troops of English towards the place, I might see from the plain (which was somewhat high raised over the woods, which were not tall) the enemy coming in great haste over a bridge some eight score within the streight with ensignes displayed, very thick thronged together, and in a trice they shewed themselves in the mouth of the streight. My hindermost troops which were then near the
streight

streight were yet in their long order, and with the suddenesse of the sight somewhat amazed, in so much that a captain well reputed, and that the very same day had behaved himself very valiantly, though he saw me directing as became me, often asked what he should do, till shortly and roughly as his importunity and the time required, I told him that I was never lesse to seek, that he therefore should go to his place, and do as I had commanded, till further order: and so doubting the enemy would get the plain, before my troops would be thoroughly ordered to go against them, I took some of the hinder ranks of the pikes, and some shot, vvith vvhich I made out to the streights mouth a great pace, vvilling the rest to follovv: vvhereupon the enemy made a stand, as it vv ere doubtfull to come on, and so I came presently to the push of pike vvith them.

Where at the first encounter my horse being slain under me vvith the blow of a pike, and falling on me, so as I could not suddenly rise, I lay as betvvixt both troops, till our men had made the enemy give back, receiving a hurt in my leg, and diuers thrusts vvith pikes through my garments.

It vv as very hard fought on both sides, till our shot spreading themselves along the skirt of the vvood (as I had before directed) flanked and sore galled the enemy, so that they could no longer endure, but vv ere forced to give back, vv hich they did vvithout any great disorder.

disorder in troop, and as they were hard followed by our men, turned and made head manfully, which they did four severall times before they broke, and at last they flang avay their arms, and scattered asunder, thrusting themselves into the thickets, for back wards they could not flee, the vway being stopped by their own men.

I commanded our men not to disband, but pursue them, and passing forward easily, discomfited the five hundred horsemen, who presently left their horses, & fled into the bushes, amongst whom it was said the Marquesse of Warren was in person: for the horse he was mounted on was then taken amongst the rest.

The horsemen who fled into the thicks we followed not, but went on the straight way till we encountered with the twenty four companies of Neopolitans, who discouraged with our successe, made no great resistance. We took eighteen of their ensignes, and made a great slaughter of their men, till we had recovered the bridge before mentioned of them. My troop being small of it self, made lesse by this fight, and lesser by the covetousnesse of the souldier, (whereof a good part could no longer be kept from rising of the enemy, and taking horses,) I thought good not to pursue the enemy further then the said bridge, where having made a stand till our men had taken the full spoil of all behinde us, the enemy not once so much as shewing himself, and
night

night growing on, I made my retreat, and two hours after sun-set came with the troops into the town of *Berg*.

This fight was begun and ended with one of the two English troops, which could not exceed four hundred men: the other, which *Sir Oliver Lambert* led, only following, and shewing it self in good order, and ready if occasion required: the Netherlands remaining in the plain with the horsemen and the Count *Queslein*.

The enemy lost about eight hundred men, and by an Italian Lieutenant of horsemen (who was the only man taken alive) I understood that the Count *Mansfeldt* was newly before this encounter arrived, and had joyned his forces with those of the Marquess of *Warrenbon*, in which were all the Spanish regiments, making two hundred and twenty ensigns, besides other forces; so as the whole strength was supposed thirteen or fourteen thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, of their oldest and best souldiers. They had intelligence of our coming, but expected us the way we had taken before, and made all speed to impeach us by cutting off this passage, sending those harquebuziers we first met with by the castle, to entertain us in skirmish.

Presently upon my coming to *Berg*, though in great pain with my wound, we fell to deliberation what was to be done: we knew the enemies strength, and the danger we were to abide in returning, and to stay in the town,

were to hasten the losse of it, by eating the provisions we had brought: of the two we chose rather to return; and so giving order for the change of the garrison, and refreshing our men, and bestowing those who were hurt on the empty carriages, by the break of day the morning being very foggy and mistie, we set forward in as secret manner as we could, taking the opener and broader way, without sight of any enemy, till about noon that some troops of horse discovered themselves a far off upon a very spacious heath, and gave us onely the looking on, so that without any impeachment we arrived that night at the fort before *Rees*.

The relieving of the Castle of
LITKENHOOVEN.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and ninety, the castle of *Litkenhooven* in the fort of *Recklinchusen*, in which there was a garrison of the States souldiers, being besieged by the people of that countrey, aided with some good number of the Duke of *Cleves*, the Bishops of *Colen*, and *Patebournes* souldiers, which they call *Hannidiers*; The States gave me order with some companies of English foot, to the number of seven or eight hundred, and five hundred horse, to

go to the relief of the said castle; which I accepted, and marching with all possible speed, in good hope to have surprized them at unawares, and arriving there one morning by break of day, I found that the chief troop was dislodged, and that they had wrought hard upon a fort before the entry of the castle, in which they had left good store of men.

I did expect to have found them without any intrenchment, and therefore had brought no provision of artillery or scaling ladders; without the which it seemed very dangerous and difficult to carry it by assault, being reared of a good height with earth, and then with gabions set thereupon of six foot high, made almost unmountable: And to besiege them I had no provision of victuals, so that I was to return without making of any attempt, or so attempt in a manner against reason; which notwithstanding I resolved to adventure.

And therefore dividing the English troop into eight parts, I conveyed them as secretly as I could, so as two of these troops might readily assault every corner of the said fort, being a square of four small bulwarks; but with a distance betwixt the two troops, to give on each corner with a signall of drums; at which the first four troops should go to the assault, and another signall to the other four troops to second, if need required.

Whilst this was in doing, I sent a drum to summon them of the fort to yield, who sent

me word, they would first see my artillery. I saw by their fashion there was no good to be done by entreary; yet to amuse them, I sent them word the artillery was not yet arrived: if they made me stay the coming of it, I would give them no conditions: they answered, that I should do my worst.

At the very instant of my drums return, I gave the signal, and the troops speedily gave upon the fort, as I had appointed them: though they did their utmost endeavours, they did finde more resistance then they were able to overcome; neverthelesse I gave them no second till I might perceive those within had spent their ready powder in their furnitures; at what time I gave the second signal, which was well and willingly obeyed; and gave such courage to the first troops, that the assault was more eager on all hands, in so much that one souldier helping another, some got to the top of the rampires; at which the enemy gave back, so as the way became more easie for others to climbe to the top, and so finally the place was forced, and all the men put to the sword, being in number three hundred and fifty, all chosen men, with the losse and hurting of about fourscore of my men.

The place thus succoured, and my men refreshed for some few dayes, I returned homewards, and found in my way that *Burick* a small town of *Clepe*, and a little fort on that side the *Rhine*, were in the mean time surprised.

The enemy then held a royall fort not far from *Wesel*, which served to favour the passage of his forces over the *Rhine*. This place I understood by those of *Wesel* to be slenderly provided of victuals, so as they had but to serve them from hand to mouth out of the town, and that their store of powder was very small. I knew the service would be acceptable to the States, if I could take that piece from the enemy, and therefore resolved to do what lay in me: and first appointed a guard of horse and foot to hinder their recourse to the town for their provisions.

Then passing into the town of *Burick*, with such stuff as I could get on a sudden, and such workmen, I began to make ladders; so as the night following I had fortie ladders in readinesse, upon which two men might go in front: for I being so weak, and the enemy having the alarm of my being abroad, I was to expect their coming; so as it was not for me to linger upon the starving those of the fort. With this provision I resolved to give a scalado to the fort, which as it was high of rampire, so had it neither water in the ditch, nor pallisado to hinder us.

The fort was spacious, capable of fifteen hundred men, and had four very royall bulwarks, upon one of which I purposed to give an attempt, and onely false alarms on the other quarters of the fort; and to this end for avoiding confusion, both in the carriage, rearing, planting, and scaling, as also for the more

speedy and round excution, I appointed eight men to every ladder to bear, plant, and mount the same, whereof four were shot and four pikes, one of either sort to mount a front. And being come near the fort in a place convenient to range the men, they were divided into two parts, and ranged a front, with commandment upon a signall given, the one half to give upon one face of the bulwark, the other upon the other, which they did accordingly, and gave a furious attempt, mounting the ladders and fighting at the top of them, the enemy being ready to receive us; But by reason many of the ladders which were made (as I have said) in haste, and of such stuff as could be gotten on a sudden, were not of sufficient strength, but broke with the weight and stirring of the men, seeing no likelihood to prevail, and the day now growing on, I caused our men to retire, and to bring away with them their ladders that were whole, with no great harm to our men, by reason the enemy being diverted by the false alarms did not flank us, neither if they had plaid from the flanks with small shot, could they have done any great hurt by reason of the distance; the most hurt we had was with blows on the head from the place we attempted, both with weapons and stones, for the journey being long, to ease the souldiers they brought forth no morians.

I therefore purposing not to give over this enterprise, provided head-pieces for them in the

the town of *Wesell*, and used such diligence that before the next morning I was again furnished with ladders, and in greater number: for I had perswaded the horsemen that were well armed for the purpose, with their pistols to take some ladders also, and be ready to give the *scalado* in the same manner, but somewhat later, for even then day began to break, which not giving us time to persevere in the attempt, was the onely hindrance of our victory: for our shot having order when they came to the top of the ladders not to enter, but taking the top of the wall for a breast, and safeguard, to shoot at the enemy fighting at the work-side, and standing in the hollow of the bulwark, till the same were cleared of defendants for to enter more assuredly, which manner of assaulting, though it be not ordinary, yet well considered is of wonderfull advantage: for having the out-side of both the faces of the bulwark not flanked (as I said before) on their backs, (which in the darkness of the night, and for the alarms given on the other parts they could not see nor intend) and in this manner having galled & driven many of the enemy from the wall, and being in a manner ready to enter, day came upon us, and the enemy having discovered us from the other flanks, turned both small and great shot against us, so as we were forced to retire, carrying our ladders with us, with lesse losse then the day before in the fight, though more in the retreat by reason of the day light.

The

The same day I provided more ladders, purposing the next morning to try fortune again; when in the evening the Governot of the fort by a drum wrote me a letter, complaining that against the ordinary proceedings of men of war, I assaulted beforell summoned; and the drum in mine ear told me, that if I would but do them the honour to shew them any piece of ordnance, I should quickly have the fort. By which drawing of theirs I perceived they were in fear, and in discretion thought it meet to make my advantage thereof by drawing them to yield, then to despair them to my greater losse, by further attempting to carrie them by force; and so taking a piece out of the town of *Burick*, I planted the same before morning, and by break of day sent a trumpeter to summon them to yield, which they did assent unto, so they might passe away with their arms, which I granted, and so they came forth the same morning two companies of *Almains*, and two half companies of *Italians*, near as strong in number as those that attempted them: for besides the *English* I used none, but some few horsemen: most of their officers were hurt and slain, and of the souldiers more then of mine.

This is true; and therefore let it be thought that howsoever this attempt may seem rash with the ordinary proceedings of other captains, yet notwithstanding I was confident upon a certain and infallible discourse of reason.

In the place I found four double Cannons, with pretty store of ammunition and victuals. The same night I and the troops were countermanded by the States, but I left the place with some guard and better store of necessities before my departure.

The surprise of ZUTPHEN sconce.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred ninetie one, I lying then at *Deesburgh* with the English forces, the Count *Maurice* wrote unto me, that by a certain day he would be with his forces before *Zutphen* to besiege the same, willing me the night before with my troops of horse and foot of that countrey to beset the town on the same side of the river it standeth.

On the same those of the town held a fort, which made my Lord of *Leycester* loose many men and much time before he could get it. This fort I thought necessary to take from the enemy before he had knowledge of our purpose to besiege him, and because I wanted force to work it by open means, I put this sleight following in practise.

I chose a good number of lusty and hardy young Souldiers, the most of which I apparelled like the countrey women of those parts, the rest like the men, gave to some baskets, to other packs, and such burthens as the people

D usually

usually carry to the market, with pistols, and short swords, and daggers, under their garments, willing them by two or three in a company, by break of day to be at the ferry of *Zutphen*, which is just against the fort, as if they stayed for the passage boat of the town, and bad them to sit and rest themselves in the mean time as near the gate of the fort as they could for avoiding suspicion, and to seize upon the same as soon as it was opened. Which took so good effect, that they possessed the entry of the fort, and held the same till an officer with two hundred souldiers (who was laid in a covert not farre off,) came to their seconds, and so became fully Master of the place. By which means the siege of the town afterwards proved the shorter.

The siege of DEVENTER.

IN the siege of *Deventer*, by reason of the shortnesse of a bridge of boats laid over the ditch for our men to go to the assault, the troops could not so roundly pass as had been requisite, and so were forced to retire with no small losse.

The Count *Maurice* was so discouraged that he purposed that night to have withdrawn his Ordnance. I desired that he would have patience till the next day, and resolve in the morning to begin the battery again for five or six volleys, and then to summon them, assuring him

him that I would guard the bridge that night, if the enemy should attempt to burn it, as they did, though in vain.

The Count *Maurice* liked well of the advise, and it had good successe; for upon the summons they yielded. Their town had no flank on that part; the wall, which was of brick without any Rampire, was in a manner raised to the foundation, the town so close behind it that they could not make any new defences, which as they might be just causes of discouragement to the besieged, so they made me confident that with this shew of perseverance they would yield.

The Count *Herman of Bergh*, who commanded the town was sore bruised with a Cannon. There marched of the enemy out with him seven or eight hundred able men, amongst which was an English Gentleman, whom for his using unreverent and slanderous speeches of her Majestie I had long held in prison; out of which he had during that siege made an escape; he was excepted in the composition, taken from them, and executed, as he well deserved, not for his first but second offence.

The defeat given to the Duke of Parma at

KNOXENBURGH

FORT.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred, ninetie one, whilst the Count Maurice was busied in Friesland, and with good successe took many forts, as Delfziel, and others about Groninghen; The Duke of Parma passed with his armie into the Betow, and besieged the fort on that side the river upon the ferry to Nimmeghen. Whereupon the States countermanded the Count Maurice with their forces, who being come to Arnheim incamped in the Betow right over against that Town.

The Duke still continuing his siege, the States (who were then present at Arnheim) desirous to hinder his purpose, if it were possible, in their assembly (to which I was called with the Count Maurice) propounded the matter, and insisted to have something exploited, though we layed before them the advantage the enemy had of us in the number of his men, the strength of his encamping, as well by the site of the countrey, as intrenchments; so as much time was spent, and the council dissolved without resolution upon any speciall enterprize; albeit in generall the Count Maurice and the men of war agreed to do their utmost endeavour for the annoying and hindering of the enemy.

I had observed by the enemies daily coming with good troops of horse and forcing of our scouts, that they were likely to bite at any bait that were cunningly laid for them, and therefore having informed my self of the wayes and passages to their army, and projected with my self a probable plot to do some good on them, I brake the same to the Count Maurice, who liked my devise well, and recommended to me the execution thereof, giving me the troops I demanded, which were one thousand two hundred foot and five hundred horse.

The distance betwixt the two armies was about four or five English miles, to the which there lay two ready wayes, serving for the intercourse betwixt *Arnhem* and *Nimwegen*, the one a dike or cawsey, which was narrower and most used in winter by reason of the lownesse and myriness of the countrey, the other larger: both hemd with overgrown woods and deep ditches.

Near half a mile from the quarter, this cawsey was to be passed to come to the other way, which led to the main quarter of the enemy where most of his horse lay. About two thirds of the way from our camp there was a bridge, to this bridge I marched early in the morning sending forthwith towards the enemies camp two hundred light and well mounted horse with order to beat the guards of the enemies horse even to their very quarter and guards of foot, to take such spoil and prisoners as lay ready in their way, and so to make their retreat,

If they were followed, more speedily, otherwise, an ordinary marching pace. In the mean time I divided my footmen into two parts, whereof one I laid near the hither side of the bridge, in a place very covert: the other a quarter of a mile behind, and in the rereward of them the rest of my horse. If the enemy came in the rayl of our horse, whom for that purpose I had appointed (as before said) to come more leisurely, that the enemy might have time to get to horse; I knew they could bring no footmen, and therefore was resolved to receive betwixt my troops of foot all the horsemen they could send. But if they pursued not our men in the heat, I judged they would either come with good numbers of both kinde of men ordered, or not at all: and if they came with good advice, that they would rather seek to cut off my passage near home by taking the cawsey and higher way, then to follow me directly.

For the better preventing whereof the Count *Maurice* himself with a choice part of the horse and foot of the army, was to attend at the crosse way to favour my retreat. My horsemen about noon gave the enemy the alarm, and according to their directions made their retreat no enemy appearing, whereupon I also retired with the rest of the troop till I came to the crosse way; where I found the Count *Maurice* with his troops. In the head of which towards the way of the cawsey, with some distance betwixt his troops and mine, I made

made a stand in a little field by the side of the way where they were at cover.

We had not been here half an hour, but our scouts brought word the enemy was at hand, which the Count Maurice's horsemen hearing, without any order, as every one could get for most, to the number of seven or eight hundred they made withall speed towards the enemy. I presumed and said they would return faster and in more disorder, as it fell out; for the enemy coming as fast towards them, but in better order, put them presently in rout, and the greater the number was, the more was the amazement and confusion. Thus they passed by us with the enemy at their heels laying on them.

I knew not what other troops they had at hand, nor what discouragement this sight might put into the mindes of our men, and therefore whereas I purposed to have let the enemy passe, if this unexpected disorder had not happened amongst our horsemen, I showed my troops on their flanks and galled them both with shot and pikes; so that they not only left pursuing their chase, but turned their backs. Which our horsemen perceiving, followed, and thus revenged themselves to the full, for they never gave over untill they had wholly defeated the troop, which was of eight hundred horse, of which they brought betwixt two and three hundred prisoners, whereof diverse were Captains, as *Don Alphonso d'Analos*, *Eradilla*, and others, with diverse Cornets and about five hundred horses.

This

10 This defeat so troubled the Duke of Parma, that being so forward on his siege, and having filled part of the ditch of the fort, he retired his army thence, and passed the river of *Wael* a little above *Nimmeghen* with more dishonour then in any action that he had undertaken in these warres.

The Calis-journey.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred ninetie six I was sent for into *England* at that time when the journey to the coast of *Spain* was resolved on, (which because of the taking of *Calis* was after commonly called the *Calis-journey*) and returned speedily into the Low Countreys with letters of credence to the States from her Majesty, to acquaint them with her Majesties purpose, and to hasten the preparation of the shipping they had already promised to attend her Majesties fleet in those seas: withall to let them know her Majesties desire to have two thousand of her own subjects, as well of those in their pay, as her own, to be employed in that action, and to be conducted by me to the Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord Admirall of *England*, Generalls of that action by joynt commission.

Whereunto the States assented, and I (according to my instructions given me in that behalf) by the time appointed shipped and transported to the Rendezvous, which was assigned



THE ISLAND OF ALOP



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 not a part of the mainland.



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PART

Porto S. Maria

Rotta

The English navy

WEST

Los Puercas

Flere

Cailletta

Calis Salts

Castel

Corvo

THE ISLANDS AZORES

8 Flores

Graciosa Infula

Fayall

Aco

Terra

A Scale of English Miles

The Isle S. Maria lieth full west
of Cadiz 19 degrees, that is 120
Leages, or 160 english miles.



1871

3000 22

200

20

1000

Puerto Nuevo

3000 22

20

1000

2000 22

1871

signed me before *Bulleyn* on the coast of *France*, by reason that *Calais* in *France* was then besieged by the Cardinall *Albertus*. upon that occasion it was resolved to have imployed this armie for the succour and relief thereof, but coming into that road I found no shipping of ours, & understanding that *Calais* was yielded the day before, I crossed the sea to *Dover*, where I found the whole fleet and the Generalls, who received me with much joy and favour, being then (though farre unworthy of so weightie a charge) chosen to supply the place of Lieutenant Generall of the armie by the name and title of Lord Marshall.

The fleet set sail shortly after, and my Lord of *Essex* leaving his own ship imbarqued himself in the *Rainbow* with my self and some few of his ordinarie attendant servants, of purpose (as I suppose) to conferre with me at the full and at ease of his journey. After two dayes sailing his Lordship landed at *Beachim* near *Rye*, with diverse other Noblemen, that he had attending him so far on his journey. He took me along with him to the Court, and thence dispatched me to *Plymmouth*, whither most of the Land-forces were to march, to see them lodged, provided of necessaries, and trained, and ordered, which I did accordingly, to the great contentment of the Generalls, when at their coming they saw the readinesse of the men, which were then exercised before them.

During this stay of the armie about *Plymmouth*

mouth (which by reason of the contrarietie of wind was near a moneth) it pleased my Lord of *Essex* to give me much countenance, and to have me alwayes near him, which drew upon me no small envie, in so much as some open jarres fell out betwixt Sir *Walter Raleigh* then Rear-admirall of the navie, and Sir *Conniers Clifford* Sergeant-major-generall of the armie, and my self; which the Generall qualified for the time, and ordered that in all meetings at Land I should have the precedence of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and he of me at Sea. Sir *Conniers Clifford*, though there were grudging there could be no competition, yet being a man of a haughtie stomach, and not of the greatest government or experience in Martiall discipline, lest ignorance or will might mislead him in the execution of his office, and to give a rule to the rest of the high officers (which were chosen rather for favour then for long continuance in service) to the better directing of them in their duties, as also for the more readinesse in the Generall himself to judge and distinguish upon all occasions of controversie; I propounded to my Lord of *Essex* as a thing most necessary, the setting down in writing, what belonged properly to every office in the field; which motion his Lordship liked well, and at severall times in the morning his Lordship and my self together, he with his own hand wrote what my industrie and experience had made me able to deliver, which was afterwards copied, & delivered

vered severally to the officers, and took so good effect that no question arose in that behalf during the journey.

The wind serving and the troop shipped I imbarqued in the foresaid *Rainbow* as Vice-admirall of my Lord of *Essex* his Squadron. The one and twentieth day after (being, as I take it, the first of July) the fleet arrived early in the morning before *Calis-Malis*, and shortly after came to an anchor, as near the *Caletta* as the depth would suffer us.

In the mouth of the Bay, thwart of the rocks called *Los paercos*, there lay to our judgement fortie or fiftie tall ships, whereof were four of the kings greatest and warlikest Gallions, eighteen Merchant ships of the West-Indian fleet outward bounden, and richly laden, the rest private Merchants.

Because it was thought these could not escape us in putting to sea, the first project of landing our men in the *Caletta* went on, and so the troops appointed for that purpose were imbarqued in our barges and long boats. But the wind blowing hard, the landing was thought too dangerous, the rather for that the enemy shewed themselves on the shore with good troops of horse and foot. Notwithstanding in hope the weather would calm, the men were still kept in the boats at the ships sterns.

This day the Generalls met not together, but the Lord Admirall had most of the sea officers aboard with him, as the Lord of *Essex* had those for land service, and Sir *Walter Ra-*

leigh was sent to and fro betwixt them with messages, so that in the end it was resolved and agreed upon to put, the next tide, into the Bay, and, after the defeating of the enemies fleet, to land our men betwixt the town and *Puntal*, without setting down any more particular directions for the execution thereof. I then told my Lord of *Essex* that mine was a floaty ship and well appointed for that service; that therefore, if his Lordship pleased, I was desirous to put in before his Lordship and the other ships of greater burthen, to which his Lordship answered suddenly that in any case I should not go in before him.

With this I and the rest of the officers went to our ships to prepare our selves; I took my company of souldiers out of the boats into my ship, for their more safety, and better strengthening of my ship. And because we anchored more to the North of the fleet, more a stern and to the Leeward of the fleet, as the wind then blew, then any other ship; I thought to recover these disadvantages by a speedier loosening of my anchor then the rest. And therefore, not attending the Generalls signall and warning, so soon as the tide began to favour my purpose, I fell to weighing my anchor. But the wind was so great and the billow so high that the Cap-stain being too strong for my men, cast them against the ships side and spoiled many of them, so that after many attempts to wind up the anchor I was forced to cut Cable in the haulse. When I was under sail, I plied
onely

onely to windward, lying off and on from the mouth of the Bay to the sea, which lyeth near hand East and West, by that means gathering nearer to the fleet. The Lord *Thomas Howard* Vice-admirall of the fleet with some few other ships set sail also beating off and on before the mouth of the Bay; but the Generall and the most of the fleet kept their anchors still.

The tide being far spent (loth to be driven again to the Leeward of the fleet, and to endanger another Cable, and perchance the ship it self upon that shore, which was flat and near, and the benefit of entering the Bay with the first, which was not the least consideration) I resolved to put into the mouth of the Bay, as near the enemies fleet as I could, without engaging fight; and there to cast anchor by them, which I did accordingly; so as they made a shot or two at me; but since I made no answer, they left shooting. I was no sooner come to anchor, but the Generalls set sail, and the rest of the fleet, and bare directly toward me, where they also anchored.

It was now late e're the flag of Council was shoven in my Lord Admiralls ship, whither my Lord of *Essex* and the rest of the officers repaired, and there it was resolved, the next morning with the tide to enter the Bay, and board the Spanish ships, if they abode it; and ships of ours were appointed to begin this service, some to keep the chanell and midst of the Bay, and others more floaty to bear nearer the town to intercept the shipping that should

retire that way, and hinder the Gallies from beating on the flanks of our great ships.

I was not allotted with my ship to any special service or attendance, my desire was great (having till that time been a stranger to actions at sea) to appear willing to embrace the occasions that offered themselves, and therefore wound my ship up to her anchor, to be the more ready to set sail in the morning with the beginning of the flood.

The Spanish ships set sail and made to the bottome of the Bay rather driving then sailing, our ships following as fast as they could. As the Spanish ships loosed from their anchors and made from us, their Gallies seventeen in number under the favour of the town made towards us ranged in good order. My ship (as before said) was floaty, and stored with good Ordnance, and proper for that service, which made me hasten towards them, without staying for any company. And indeed my readinesse was such, by reason of my riding with my anchor a pike, that no other ship could come near me by a great distance, so as I entered fight with them alone, making still toward them upon one board, and so galled them with my Ordnance, (which was Cannon and demi-Cannon) that they gave back, keeping still in order, and in fight with me, drawing as near the town as they could, and with purpose (as I thought) as our ships thrust further into the Bay, to have fallen upon our smaller ships in the tayl of the whole fleet,

fleet, and having made a hand with them, so to have put to the sea-ward of us the better to annoy us, and save themselves from being locked up. Wherein to prevent them I made toward the shore, still sounding with our leads, till the Ordnance of the town might reach me, and I the shore with mine, in so much as I put them from under the town, and took certain ships, which rode there at anchor forsaken of their men, and followed them continuing fight till they came under the fort of the *Puntal*; where thwart the bottome of the Bay (which was not broad) lay their four great ships with a prettie distance berwixt them, and by spreading the breadth of the Chanell came to an anchor and were now in hot fight of Ordnance with our fleet.

I was nearer *Puntal* and the shore of *Calá* by much then any ship of the fleet, and further advanced into the Bay, so that now growing within shot of the fort, which lay on my right hand, and in like distance to the Gallions on the left hand, and having the Gallies a head me, betwixt them both was plied with shot on all sides very roundly, yet I resolved to go on, knowing I had good seconds, and that many hands would make light work. But my company either wiser, or more affraid then my self on a sudden unlookt for of me let fall the anchor, and by no means would be commanded or intreated to weigh it again.

In the mean time Sir *Walter Raleigh* came upon my left side with his ship; and very little

a head me cast his anchor, as did also the Generalls, and as many of the fleet as the Chanell would bear, so as the shooting of Ordnance was great, and they held us good talk by reason their ships lay thwart with their broad sides towards us, and most of us right a head, that we could use but our chafing pieces. I sent my boat aboard Sir *Walter Raleigh* to fasten an haulse to winde my ship, which was loosed soon after my boat was put off.

About me the Gallions let slip Cable in the haulse, and with their top sails wended and drew towards the shore on the left hand of the Bay; and the Indian fleet with the rest of the shipping did the like, more within the Bay. It was no following of them with our great ships, and therefore I went aboard my Lord of *Essex*, whose ship lay towards that side of the Chanell, to see what further order would be given.

At my coming aboard, the Gallions were run on ground near the shore, and their men some swimming, others in their boats began to forsake their ships. I was then bold to say to my Lord of *Essex* that it was high time to send his small shipping to board them, for otherwise they would be fired by their own men, which his Lordship found reasonable, & presently sent his directions accordingly, and in the mean time sent Sir *William Constable* with some long boats full of souldiers (which his Lordship had towed at his stern since the first imbarquing) to have landed in the *Caletta*.

But,

But, notwithstanding he made all haste possible, before he could get to the Gallions, two of them were set on fire, and the other two by this means saved and taken utterly forsaken of their men, who retired through the fennes to *porto Saint Maria*.

The Spanish fleet thus set on ground, the prosecution of that victory was committed to, and willingly undertaken with the sea-forces, by a principall officer of the fleet.

And because longer delay would increase the difficulty of landing our forces by the resort of more people to *Calis*, it was resolved forthwith to attempt the putting of our men on shore, and to that end, commandment was given that all the men appointed for that purpose should be imbarqued in the longboats, and that my Lord of *Essex* should first land with those men which could be disembarked, and then my Lord *Admirall* to second, and repair to the Generall, who the better to be known would put out his flag in his boat. The troops that were first to land, were the regiments of the Generalls, my own, that of Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and Sir *Conniers Clifford*.

On the right hand in an even front, with a competent distance betwixt the boats were ranged the two regiments first named, the other three on the left, so that every regiment and company of men were sorted together with their Colonels and chief officers in nimble pinnaces, some in the head of the boats,

F

some

some at stern to keep good order; the Generall himself with his boat, in which it pleased him to have me attend him, and some other boats full of Gentlemen-adventurers & choice men to attend his person, rowed a pretty distance before the rest; whom, at a signall given with a drum from his boat, the rest were to follow according to the measure and time of the sound of the said drum, which they were to observe in the deeping of their oars; and to that end there was a generall silence, as well of warlike instruments as otherwise. Which order being duly followed, the troops came all together to the shore betwixt *Puntall* and *Calis*, and were landed, and severall regiments imbattelled at an instant, without any encounter at all; the Spaniards, who all the day before had shewed themselves with troops of horse and foot on that part, as resolved to impeach our landing, being clean retired toward the town. The number of the first disembarking was not fully two thousand men; for diverse companies of those regiments that had put themselves into their ships again, could not be suddenly ready, by reason the boats to land them belonged to other great ships.

Calis on that side was walled as it were in a right line thwart the land, so as the sea on both sides did beat on the foot of the wall; which strength together with the populousness of the town (in which besides the great concourse of Gentlemen and others upon the discovery of
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our fleet and alarm of our Ordnance; there was an ordinary Garrison of souldiers) had taken from us all thought of forcing it without battery; and therefore being landed we advanced with the troops to finde a convenient place to encamp till my Lord Admirall with the rest of the forces and the Ordnance were landed.

Being advanced with the troops half the breadth of the neck of the land, which in that place is about half a mile over, we might perceive that all along the sea-shore on the other side of this neck of land men on horse-back and foot repaired to the town; which intercourse it was thought necessary to cut off. And therefore because the greatest forces of the enemies were to come from the land, it was resolved on to lodge the better part of the army in the narrowest of the neck, which near *Puntall* is not broader then an ordinary harque-bush-shot.

To which streight Sir *Conniers Clifford* was sent with three regiments, viz. his own, Sir *Christopher Blunts*, and Sir *Thomas Gerrards*; there to make a stand, to impeach the Spaniards from coming to the town, till he received further order for the quartering and lodging of his men. Which done, the Lord Generall with the other two regiments, and his company of adventurers (which was of about two hundred and fifty worthy Gentlemen) in all not fully a thousand men, advanced nearer the town, the better to discover the whole

ground before it. And as we approached a far off, we might perceive the enemy standing in battel under the favour of the town, with cornets and ensignes displayed, thrusting out some loose horse and foot toward us, as it were to procure a skirmish.

I, marking their fashion, conceived hope of a speedier gaining the town then we intended, and were then about, and said to his Lordship, at whose elbow I attended, that those men he saw standing in battel before the town would shew, and make the way for us into the town that night, if they were well handled; and at the instant I propounded the means, which was to carry our troops as near and covertly as might be, towards the town, and to see by some attempt if we could draw them to fight further from the town, that we might send them back with confusion and disorder, and so have the cutting them in pieces in the town-ditch, or enter it by the same way they did.

His Lordship liked the project, and left the handling thereof to me, I presently caused the troop to march towards the other side of the neck of land, because the ordinary and ready way to the town lay on that side low and inbayd to the foot of the hilly downs, so as troops might march very closely from the view of the town. Then I chose our two hundred men, which were committed to the conduct of Sir John Wingfield, a right valiant Knight, with order that he should march on roundly

roundly to the enemy where they stood in battel, and to charge and drive to their battels the skirmishers: but if the enemy in grosse proffered a charge, he should make an hasty and fearfull retreat (to their judgement) the way he had gone, till he met with his seconds that followed him, and then to turn short, and with the greatest speed and fury he could to charge the enemy.

The seconds were of three hundred men, led (as I remember) by Sir Matthew Morgan, who were to follow the first troop a good distance, and so as both of them till the enemy were engaged might not at once appear to them, and to advance with all diligence, when the troop before them did retire, to meet them, charge the enemy, enter the town with them pellmele. With the rest of the forces his Lordship and I followed.

The place served well for our purpose, being covert and of no advantage for their horsemen, and the directions were so well observed, that the enemy was engaged in following our first troop before they discovered the rest, and so in hope and assurance of victory, being beyond expectation lively encountered, they fled in disorder towards the town, so nearly followed of our men, that most of the horsemen forsook their horses, and saved themselves, some by the gates, others clambering over the walls, as did also their footmen, our men following them at the heels to the very gate, which they found shut against them, and men

standing over it and upon the walls to resist us.

The ditch was very hollow but dry, out of which was raised a massy rampier, with two round half bulwarks; the one towards the one sea, the other towards the other, for height and thickenesse in their perfection, but not steeped and scarped: so as it was very mountable, lying close to the old wall of the town, which somewhat overtopped it no higher then in many places a man might reach with his hand.

To the top of this rampier our men climbed, who, being for the most part old and experienced souldiers, of the Bands I brought out of the Low-countries, boldly attempted to climbe the wall, from which they beat with their shot the defendants, wanting no encouragements that good example of the chiefs could give them, the Generall himself being as forward as any.

Whilest it was hard stroven and fought on that side, I sent a Captain and Countrey-man of mine called *Uysler* with some few men alongst the ditch, to see what guard was held along the wall toward the Bay-ward, and whether any easier entrance might be made that way or no, willing him to bring or send me word, which he did accordingly, though the messenger came not to me. He found so slender a guard that he entred the town with those few men he had, which the enemy perceiving fled from the walls; and our men entred as fast on the other side.

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My Lord of *Effex* was one of the first that got over the walls, followed by the souldiers, as the place would give them leave; and such was their fury being once entred, that as they got in scatteringly so they hasted towards the town without gathering any strong and orderly body of men, as in such case is requisite, or once endeavouring to open the gate for more convenient entry for the rest of the troops. I therefore, foreseeing what might ensue of this confusion, held the third body of the men together, and with much adoe brake open the gate, by which I entred the town; and so keeping the way that leads from the gate towards the town, joyned to my foot those men I met withall scattered here and there.

Not farre from the Market-place I found my Lord of *Effex* at a stand with fourty or fifty men, whence I might see some few of the enemy in the Market-place, which made me advance towards them without attending any commandment; who upon my approaching, retired themselves into the Town-house, whither I pursued them, broke open the gates, and after good resistance made by the Spaniards in the upper rooms of the house, became Master of it; in which I left a guard and went down into the Market-place, and found my Lord of *Effex* at the Town-house-door. I humbly intreated his Lordship to make that place good, and give me leave to scoure, and assure the rest of the town, which I did accordingly.

cordingly. And though I was but slackly and slenderly followed, by reason of our mens greedinesse of spoil, yet such Spaniards as I found making head and coming towards the Market-place, I drove back into the Fort Saint *Philip*, and the Abby of Saint *Francis*. Those of the Abby yielded, to the number of two hundred Gentlemen and others; and being disarmed were put into a Chapel, and there left guarded. Those of Saint *Philip* (it being now in the evening) cryed to us that in the morning they would render the place. Before which also having put a guard, and understanding by some prisoners that there was no other place of any strength but the old town near the Market-place, I repaired to my Lord of *Essex*, whom I found in the Market-place, and my Lord *Admirall* with him. And after I had made report on what terms things stood, where I had been; I went to the said old town to visit the guards which were commanded by Sir *Edward Conway* with part of the forces landed with my Lord *Admirall*, and from thence to that part of the town where we entred. And thus all things in good assurance, returned to the market-place, where the rest of the forces were, being held together to be readily imployed upon all occasions. Their Lordships went up to the Town-house, and there gave God thanks for the victory, and afterwards all wounded and bloudy as he was, yet undressed, gave the honour of Knighthood to Sir *Samuel Bagnall*, for his especiall

ciall merit and valour in that dayes service.

The losse was not very great on either side, for as the Spanish troops that stood ordered without the walls got into the town confusedly and disorderly before we could mingle with them; so every one as he was counselled by fear or courage provided for his own safety, the most flying to the old town and Castle. Those that made head after the first entrance, being scattered here and there, our men as they followed with more courage then order, so encountered them in the like scattering manner falling streight to hand-strokes, so as it seemed rather an inward tumult and town-fray then a fight of so mighty nations.

The next day the old town and the Fort of Saint Philip were delivered unto us, and the people that were in them, except some principall prisoners, were suffered to depart, with great courtesie shewed, especially to the women of better sort. There went out of the town Gentlemen and others likely men to bear arms, betwixt four and five thousand; the brunt of this exploit was born with lesse then a thousand men. We could have no help of Sir *Conniers Clifford*, who mistaking his directions went with his troops to the bridge called *Punto Zuarro* about three leagues distance. And my Lord Admirall, notwithstanding his Lordsh. used all possible diligence in the landing his men, arrived not till we were in a manner full Masters of the town. It was long disputed whether the town should

be held or no. I offered with four thousand men to defend it till her Majesties pleasure might be known. My Lord of *Essex* seemed to affect to remain there in person, which the rest of the Council would not assent unto, but rather to abandon and set it on fire, which we did about fourteen dayes after the taking of it. I got there three prisoners worth ten thousand ducats, one of which was a Churchman and president of the contractation of the Indies. The other two were ancient Knights, called *Don Pedro de Herera*, and *Don Gieronymo de Auallos*.

In the mean time, vvwhether of designe and set purpose, or negligence, the Indian fleet being left unseized on by those vvho had undertaken it, some of the prisoners of the towvn dealt with the Generalls to have those ships & their lading set at ransome; vvhereupon they had vvith the Generalls conference diverse times, till the said ships were set on fire by the Spaniards themselves, in which was lost by their own confession to the worth of twelve millions of merchandise.

The troops being imbarqued, the Generalls met and consulted upon their next exploit, it was long insisted on to put to sea, and lie to intercept the West-Indian fleet, which commonly at that time of the yeare arriveth upon the coast of *Spain*. But the scarcenesse of our victuals overthrew that purpose; and resolution was taken to sail towards *England*, and on our way to vvisit the ports of that Coast, and

so spoil and destroy the shipping. And so first we made towards *Faroll* a good town and Bishops-see of *Portingall*, to which by water there was no safe entrance for our shipping, the town lying better then a league from the sea, served with a narrow creek through a low and marish bottome.

For the destroying of such shipping as might be in this creek, as also for the wasting the Countrey adjoyning, and the town it self (which though it were great and populous, was unsensed with walls) it was thought meet to land the forces in a Bay, some three leagues distant from the town, and so to march thither, which was done, the town forsaken by the inhabitants, taken by us, our men sent into the Countrey brought good store of provisions for the refreshing of the army, the artillery we found, conveyed into our ships, we after five or six dayes stay returned to our ships the way we came. The regiments embattelled and marching at large in a triple front in right good order, which was so much the more strange and commendable, the men for the most part being new, and once ranged, having little further help of directions from the high officers, which were all unmounted, and for the great heat not able to perform on foot the ordinary service in such cases belonging to their charges.

The troops imbarqued we made towards the Groyne and looked into the Bay, but the wind blowing from the sea, it was thought

dangerous to put in, and therefore (victuals dayly growing more scant, so that in some ships there was already extream want) it was resolved to hasten to our Coast, and so about the midst of *August* we arrived in the *Dovvas* near *Sandwich*, my Lord of *Essex*, having taken land in the West parts to be with more speed at the Court, left order with me for the dissolving the land-forces and shipping, and sending back of the *English* forces into the Low-countries.

At this parting there arose much strife betwixt the mariners and the souldiers about the dividing of the spoil, for the mariners envying and repining at the souldiers, who as it fell out had gotten most, purloyned and detained their chests and packs of baggage perforce; in so much as to satisfie the souldiers I went aboard my Lord Admirall to desire his Lordship of redresse, who promised to take order therein, but some other principall officers of the fleet shewing themselves more partiall, asked me whether the poore mariners should have nothing, to which I answered there was no reason they should pill the poore souldiers who had fought and ventured for that little they had, and that the mariners hope, having so rich a booty as the *Indian* fleet at their mercy, was more to be desired then the trash the landmen had gotten; so as they had none to blame for their povertie but their officers, and their bad fortune: this answer was taken to the heart, and is

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not forgotten to this houre: of which I feel the smart. The troops dissolved I went to Court and there attended the most part of that winter.

The Island voyage.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred ninetie seven, being the next yeare after the journey of *Calis*, another journey was made by the Earl of *Essex* to the coast of *Spain*, and the Islands with a royall navie, as well of her Majesties own shipping, as of her best Merchants, to which also was joyned a good number of the *States* ships, in all about one hundred and forty, with an armie of seven or eight thousand Land-men, as well voluntary as prest, commonly called the *Island voyage*.

To which I was called by her Majesties commandment to attend his Lordship, as also to deal with the *States*, that besides the shipping which they were to send with her Majesties fleet by vertue of the contract, they would suffer a thousand of her subjects in their pay, to be transported by me to her said Generall, and fleet for that service. Which having obtained I hastened into *England*, and found my Lord of *Essex* at *Sandwich*, and his fleet in readinesse anchored in the *Downe*. It was early in the morning, and his Lordship in bed when I was brought to him, he welcomed me

with much demonstration of favour, and with many circumstances of words.

First he told me my Lord Mountjoy was to go his Lieutenant Generall, not of his own choice but thrust upon him by the Queen, before me in place, yet that I should retain my former office of Lord Marshall, which as it had been ever in English armies next the Generall in authority; so he would lay wholly the execution of that office upon me; and as for the Lieutenant Generall, as he had a title without an office, so the honour must fall in effect upon them that did the service. With much more speech to this purpose, all tending to perswade me that it was not by his working, and to take away the discouragement I might conceive of it.

I answered that I had partly understood before my coming out of the Low-countreys, my Lord Mountjoys going Lieutenant Generall, so that I had forethought and resolved what to do. For though I was sensible as became me, who saw no cause in my self, of this recuilement and disgrace, yet my affections having been alwayes subject to the rules of obedience, since it was my Princes action, and that it could not be but that my Lord Mountjoy was placed with her Majesties consent, my sincerity would not give me leave to absent my self, and colour my stay from this action with any feigned excuse; but counselled me to come over, both to obey my Lord Mountjoy, and respect him as his place (which I had alwayes much

much honoured) required; much more his Lordship, which was Generall to us both; though I was not so ignorant of his Lordships power, as to doubt that my Lord Mountjoy, or any subject of *England* could be thrust upon him without his desire and procurement. That therefore, as I had good cause to judge that his Lordship had withdrawn much of his favour from me, so I humbly desired his Lordship that as by a retrenchment of the condition I was to hold in this journey, I held it rather a resignation to his Lordship again of the honour he had given me the last year, so farre as concerned my particular respect to his Lordship unsought for of me, then a service to him; so hereafter he would be pleased not to use me at all in any action, wherein he was to go chief: he would seem to take these speeches of mine as proceeding rather of a passionate discontentment, then of a resolution framed in cold bloud, and that it would in time be digested, and so without any sharpnesse on his part, the matter rested.

The purpose and designe of this journey was to destroy the fleet that lay in *Faroll* by the *Groyne* and upon the rest of the Spanish coasts; & to that end to land our forces if we saw cause, as also to intercept the *Indian* fleet. Part of our land-forces were shipped at the Downs, we did put into *Weymouth* to receive those which were to meet us there. In that place the Generall called my self and Sir *Walter Raleigh* before him, and for that he thought there remained

mained some grudge of the last years falling out, would needs have us shake hands, which we did both, the willinglier because there had nothing passed betwixt us that might blemish reputation.

From thence we went to *Plymouth*, and so towards *Spain*. Where in the height of six or seven and fourty degrees we were encountred with a storme, against which the whole navy strove obstinately, till the greater part of the ships were distressed; amongst which the Generalls mine, and Sir *Walter Raleighs*, and Sir *George Cayes*, my main mast being in the partners rent to the very spindell, which was eleven inches deep, in so much as to avoid the endangering of the ship, the Captain and Master were earnest with me to have cast it over-board, which I would not assent unto; but setting men to work brought it standing to *Plymouth*, and there strengthened it, so that it served the rest of the voyage. The Lord *Thomas Howard* Vice-Admirall with some few ships got within sight of the North-Cape, where having plyed off and on three or four dayes doubting that the rest of the fleet was put back, because it appeared not, he returned also to our Coast.

Our stay at *Plymouth* was about a moneth, more through want of wind then unwillingnesse or unreadinesse of our ships, which with all diligence were repaired. In the mean time our victuals consuming, it was debated in Council, whether the journey could be performed

formed or no without a further supply of victuals. It was judged extream dangerous, and on the other side as difficult to supply the army with victuals, which being to come from *London* and the East-parts of the Realm, and be brought up at adventure, (there being no sufficient store in readinesse) would hardly be ministred unto us so fast as we should consume them. And therefore it was first resolved to discharge all the land-forces saving those thousand I brought out of the Low-countries with the shipping they were imbarqued in. Then it was further debated in Council, how to employ the fleet, the purpose of landing the army at the *Groyn*e being dissolved.

A West-Indian voiage was propounded, whereupon every one in particular being to give his advise, it was assented to by them all, only my self was of opinion it could not stand with the honour, profit, and safety of her Majestie and the State; the fleet being so slenderly provided of forces and provisions, that nothing could be exploited there, answerable to the expectation would be generally conceived; and yet in the mean time through the want of her Majesties Royall navy, and other principall shipping of the Realm, with the choice Commanders both for sea and land, the State might be endangered by an attempt made by the Spaniards upon our own coast; whom we certainly knew to have then in readinesse a

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great power of sea and land-forces in the North-parts of *Spain*.

Things thus handled, the Lord Generall posted to the Court. After his return no more speech was had of the Indian voiage, but a resolution taken to attempt the firing of the fleet at *Farall*, and on the rest of the coast of *Spain*, and to intercept the Indian fleet, as in our discretions we should think fittest, either when we came upon the coast of *Spain*, or by going to the Islands. With this resolution we set forwards directing our course to the North-Cape with reasonable wind and weather, yet the fleet scattered, for in a manner all the Squadron of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and some ships of the other squadrons followed him, who for a misfortune in his main-yard kept more to seaward.

The Lord Generall, whilest he and the rest of the fleet lay off and on before the Cape attending Sir *Walter Raleighs* coming (who with some speciall ships had undertaken this exploit of firing the fleet) suddenly laid his ship by the lee; which because it was his order when he would speak with other ships, I made to him to know his Lordships pleasure. He spake to me from the poupe, saying I should attend and have an eye to his ship, in which at that instant there was an extream and dangerous leak, though he would not have me nor any other of the fleet know it. Which leak being stopped he directed his course along the coast Southward, and about

ten leagues from the *Groyne* called a Council, in which it was resolved to give over the enterprise of *Farall*; which as it was difficult to have been executed on a sudden, so now that we had been seen by the countrey it was held impossible; and not to linger upon the coast of *Spain* but to go directly to the Islands, the time of the year now growing on that the Indian fleet usually returned.

And to advertise Sir *Walter Raleigh* diverse pinnaces were sent out, that till such a day, the wind and weather serving, the Generall would stay for him in such a certain height, and thence would make directly for the *Azores*. At this Council his Lordship made a dispatch for *England*. I do not well remember where Sir *Walter Raleigh* and the rest of the fleet met us, but as I take it about *Flores* and *Corvo* the westerliest Islands of the *Azores*, where we arrived in seven or eight dayes after we had put from the coast of *Spain*.

We stayed there some few daies and took in some refreshing of water and victuals such as they could yield, which being not so well able to supply us as the other Islands, it was resolved in Council to put back to them, and the squadrons for the more commodity of the fleet appointed unto severall Islands. The Generall with his Squadron was to go to *Fayall*; the Lord *Thomas* with his Squadron, and I with my ship were to go to *Graciosa*; and Sir *Walter Raleigh* with his either to *Pico* or *Saint George*: but Sir *Walter Raleigh* (whether of set

purpose, or by mistake I leave others to judge) making with his Squadron more haste then the rest of the fleet, came to *Fayall* afore us, landed his men, and received some losse by the *Spaniards* that kept the top of the hill, which commanded both the haven and the town. The Generall with the rest of the fleet came to an anchor before the Island, and hearing of Sir *Walter Raleighs* landing and losse, was highly displeased, as he had cause; it being directly and expressely forbidden upon pain of death to land forces, without order from the Generall, and there wanted not about my Lord that the more to incense him aggravated the matter: seeing the Spanish ensigne upon the hill, his Lordship prepared to land with all haste, and so about an houre before sun-set came into the town.

A competent number of men were given to Sir *Oliver Lambert* to guard the passages, and then it was consulted how to go on with the enterprize of forcing them. They were entrenched on the top of the hill to the number of two hundred, which was so steep, that it seemed artillory could not be drawn towards the said trench.

The night growing on I desired his Lordship to give me leave to go up to discover the place, which his Lordship assented unto, and so taking two hundred souldiers I set forward, the young *Earl of Rutland*, Sir *Thomas German*, and diverse other Gentlemen-adventurers accompanying me. At our coming to
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the top of the hill finding no watch in their trenches, we entered them, and possessed the hill; where we found some of our men slain by the Spaniard. The hill was abandoned, as we supposed, in the beginning of the night, unseen or undiscovered of us, or those that were placed at the foot of the hill; we were all very sorry they so escaped; as was also the Lord Generall, for there was no following or pursuing them in that mountainous Island.

The Captain and Officers that landed with Sir Walter Raleigh were presently committed, and before our departure thence Sir Walter Raleigh was called to answer for himself in a full assembly of the chief Officers both by sea and land, in the Generalls presence. Where, every one being to deliver his opinion of the crime, it was grievously aggravated by the most: for my part, no man shewed lesse spleen against him then my self. The Generalls goodnesse would not suffer him to take any extreame course, but with a wise and noble admonition forgave the offence, and set also at liberty the Captains that had been committed.

After the fleet had taken the refreshing that Island could afford, which was in some good measure, we put from thence, and for three dayes were plying off and on betwixt *Graciosa* and the Island of *Tercera*, the ordinary way of the Indian fleet; and in the mean time certain were sent ashore by the Generall at *Graciosa*, to draw from the Inhabitants some portion of monie and provisions to redeem

them from spoiling. They brought word to the Generall in the afternoon that from the Island a great ship was discovered on the road-way from the Indies, but they being sent again with some other to make a full discovery, at their return, which was sudden, it was found to be but a pinnace. I must confesse, in this point I may be ignorant of some particulars, because things were not done, as they were wont, by Council, or, if they were, it was but of some few, to which I was not called. But in all likelihood there was wilfull mistaking in some to hinder us of that rich prey, which God had sent as it were into our mouths.

Howsoever it was, that same night, when it was dark, the Generall with the fleet altered their course, and bare directly with the Island of *Saint Michael*, as it was given out, to water. A pinnace coming to me in the Lord Generalls name told me it was his pleasure my ship and *Dread-nought* (in which *Sir Nicholas Parker* was) should beat off and on betwixt the Islands of *Saint George* and *Graciosa*, for that the Indian fleet was expected. The *Rainbow*, in which was *Sir William Monson*, and the *Girland* my Lord of *Southampton*s ship, were to lie by the like order on the North-part of *Graciosa*: willing us if we discovered any fleet to follow them, and to shoot off now and then a piece of Ordnance, which should serve for a signall to the rest of the fleet.

This order, as I take it, was delivered us about ten of the clock at night. About midnight,

night, or one of the clock, those of our ship might hear shooting, according to this direction, rather in a manner of a signall then a fight, toward that part of the Island, where the other two ships were to guard, which, as we after understood, was from the *Rainbow*, which fell in the midst of the Indian fleet; whom in their long boat they hailed, and by the Spaniards own mouths knew whence they were, who held them in scorn, and in a great bravery told them what they were laden withall. The wind was very small, so as it scarce stirred our ship, but we directed our course as directly to the sound of the Ordnance as we could, and so continued all night; the morning was very foggy and misty, so as we could not discover farre, but still we might hear shooting of Ordnance, when we listned for it.

About eight or nine of the clock before noon it began to clear, and then we might see (as we judged) some five or six leagues off a fleet of twenty sails which was much about half way betwixt us and *Tercera*. The wind began a little to strengthen, and we to wet our sails to improve the force of it, and somewhat we got nearer the Spanish fleet, more through their stay to gather themselves together, then our own good footmanship. All this while the *Rainbow* and the *Girland* followed the fleet so neare, that they might to our judgements at pleasure have engaged them to fight. But their fleet being of eight good Gallions

Gallions of the Kings, the rest merchants of good force, though the booty were of great inticement, it might justly seem hard to them to come by it; and so they onely waited on them, attending greater strength, or to gather up such as straggled from the rest.

The *Girland* overtook a little friggot of the Kings laden onely with Cochinell, which she spoiled, and I found abandoned and ready to sink: yet those of my ship took out of her certain small brasen pieces.

The Indian fleet keeping together in good order sailed still before us about two leagues, and so was got into the haven of *Tercera*, into the which they towed their ships with the help of those of the Island, before we could come up to them. It was evening when we came thither, and the wind from the land so, as with our ships there was no entering. It pleased my Lord of *Southampton* and the rest of the Captains to come aboard me, where it was resolved to get as neare the mouth of the haven as we could with our ships, and to man our boats well, with direction in as secret manner as they could to enter the haven, and to attempt the cutting of the Cables of the next ships, by which means the wind, as is aforesaid, blowing from the land, might drive them upon us. This though it were a dangerous and desperate enterprise, was undertaken, but being discovered the boats returned without giving any further attempt.

The same night we dispatched a small pin-nace

nace of an adventurer to Saint Michael, to give the Lord Generall advise where he should finde the Indian fleet, and us to guard them from coming out. For we had determined to attend his Lordships coming before the said haven, which I accordingly performed with my ship; though forsaken of the rest the verie same night, I know not whether for want of fresh water, or what other occasion. Three or four dayes after, his Lordship came with the fleet, who sending into the haven two nimble pinnaces to view how the fleet lay, upon report that they were drawn so far into the haven, and so well defended from the land with artillery that no attempt could be made on them without extream hazard, and the wind blowing still from the land that no device of fire could work any good effect, and all provisions growing scant in the fleet, especially fresh water, his Lordship gave over that enterprize, and put with the whole fleet from thence to Saint Michael.

The Generall had resolved to land in this Island, and therefore called a Council to advise on the manner, in which it was concluded that the greatest part of the fleet should remain before Saint Michael, to amuse the enemy, and that the souldiers in the beginning of the evening should be imbarqued in the least vessels, taking with us the Barges and long boats, and so in the night make towards villa Franca, which was some foure or five leagues off. His Lordship and the rest of the chief of-

ficers of the land-forces imbarquing with him in a small ship, left the sea officers before Saint Michael. The next day about evening we were come near *villa Franca*; I moved his Lordship to give me leave in a boat to discover the shore, and best landing place, whilst his Lordship gave order for the imbarquing the men into the other boats, which his Lordship granted; and I performed accordingly. So as in due time his Lordship was advertised of it to his contentment, and proceeded to the landing of his forces upon the sandy shore before the town, where I could discover none to give impeachment, but a few straggling fellows, which now and then gave a shot. His Lordship (as his fashion was) would be of the first to land, and I that had learned me of his disposition, took upon me the care of sending the boats after him. The siege was such that few of the men landed with their furniture dry. His Lordship himself took great pains to put his men in order, and (for that I perceived he took delight to do all) in good manners and respect I gave the looking on.

In the mean time some that were sent towards the town to discover, gave the alarm that the enemy were at hand: and I told his Lordship it were good to send presently some good troop to possess the town of *villa Franca* before the enemy got thither. His Lordship willed me to take with me two hundred men and to do with them what I thought good myself. I took so many of those men that were

readiest

readiest, and bad them follow me, amongst which were some Gentlemen of good account; as *Sir John Scot*, *Sir William Evers*, which accompanied me. I went directly to the town, which I found abandoned, and leaving some guard in the Church, which stood upon the Market-place, I passed somewhat further towards *Saint Michael*: but neither seeing nor hearing news of any enemy thereabouts I returned to the town, to which his Lordship was come with the rest of the army, making in all about two thousand, souldiers, adventurers, officers, and their trains: all which were orderly quartered in the town, where we found good store of wheat.

His Lordship having thus gotten landing advised with his Council, whether it were better to march to *Saint Michael* and spoil that town and water the fleet there, or to send for the rest of the fleet. The difficulties in going to *Saint Michael* were the roughnesse and unevennesse of the way, being for the most part over stony hills, in which a few men well placed might resist and impeach the passage to many; that the people and goods of the town would be withdrawn into the Castle, which was held by a Garrison of Spaniards, not to be forced without battery and much losse of men and time; that till it were gotten, there were no vvatering in that part, and our generall necessity could endure no delay; it vvvas therefore resolved to send for the fleet to *villa Franca*. In the mean time nevvs came

from the fleet that a West-Indian Carrack, and a Ship were come into Saint Michael, and rode near the Castle. His Lordship presently determined to go thither himself for the better ordering of things, took my Lord of Mountjoy with him, and by an especiall Commission under his hand committed to my command the land and sea-forces at villa Franca. Before his Lordship could arrive at Saint Michael the Carrack had run her self on ground under the Castle, and the other ship, which was not great, laden with sugar and Brasil commodities, taken by Sir Walter Raleigh. The third day his Lordship returned with the fleet to villa Franca, and gave order presently to fall a watering. There was plenty of water, but the shipping it into boats was tedious and troublesome, for by reason of the greatnesse of the seege we were faine by wading and swimming to thrust the barrells into the sea where the boats floated. This made the work the longer. In the mean time our victuals consumed, and grew low, though we got some little refreshing from the land, which made us content our selves with the lesse water.

After some foure or five dayes watering his Lordship gave order to imbarque the army, which he began early in the morning, and continued all the day, for the seege going high, the boats took in their men at a place where but one boat could lie on at once, which together with the distance to the shipping made the lesse riddance, and dispatch. His Lordship
for

for the better expedition was most of the time
to the waters side, sending still to me for men
from the town, as he was ready to imbarque
them.

About five of the clock in the afternoon the
sentinels that stood on the top of the steeple
discerned troops of men on the way towards
Saint Michael.

I sent up to the steeple Sir William Constable
and some other Gentlemen then about me, to
see what they could discern, who all agreed
that they saw troops, and as they guessed some
Ensignes. I willed Sir William Constable to ha-
sten to his Lordship and tell him what he had
seen. I had yet remaining with me about
five hundred souldiers, of these I sent out fix-
ty, whereof thirty shot were to go as covertly
as they could to a Chapel, a great musket-
shot from the town on the way the enemy
was discovered, with order upon the enemies
approach to give their volley, and suddenly
and in haste to retire to the other thirty that
were placed half way betwixt them and the
town, and then all together in as much haste
and shew of fear as they could to come to the
town, where I stood ready with the rest of the
men in three troops to receive them, and re-
pulse, and chase those that should follow
them.

This order given, my Lord of Essex with
the Earl of Southampton and some other Lords
and Gentlemen came to the Market-place,
where he found me with the troops. His Lord-

ship enquired of me what I had seen, I said I had seen no enemy, but what others had seen his Lordship had heard by their own reports and might, if it pleased his Lordship, send to see if the sentinell continued to affirm the same. His Lordship made no answer, but called for Tobacco, seeming to give but small credit to this alarm, and so on horseback with those Noblemen and Gentlemen on foot beside him took Tobacco, whilest I was telling his Lordship of the men I had sent forth, and order I had given them. Within some quarter of an hour we might hear a good round volley of shot betwixt the thirty men I had sent to the Chapel and the enemy, which made his Lordship cast his pipe from him, and listen to the shooting which continued.

I told his Lordship it were good to advance with the troops to that side of the town where the skirmish was, to receive our men, which his Lordship liked well, and so went a good round pace expecting to encounter our men; who unadvisedly in lieu of retiring in disorder, maintained the place, which the enemy perceiving and supposing some greater troop to be at hand to second, held aloof with his main force (for the high-way to the town lay by the Chapel, and no other passage for a troop, by reason of the strong fence and inclosure of the fields) but sent out light men to skirmish. Thus perceiving that our men held their ground we stayed our troops in covert in the end of two lanes leading directly
to

to the high-way. Those of the Island (as we were certainly informed) could make three thousand fighting men well armed and appointed, besides the ordinary Garrison of the Spaniards.

Of that number we supposed them, because they had sufficient time to gather their strength together, and for that they came to seek us, and therefore as on the one side we were loth to discover our small number to them, unless they provoked us by some notable disorder or necessity, in the defence of our selves; so we thought it not good to lessen our men by imbarquing of men, till the night was come, that silence and darknesse might cover our retreat. And for these reasons I opposed their heat that propounded to charge the enemy, and their haste that would needs have the men shipped without delay.

In the beginning of the evening, which ended the skirmish, keeping our sentinels in the view of the enemy, his Lordship began to imbarque some troops, and so continued till about midnight that the last troop was put into the boat, his Lordship seeing all imbarqued before he went aboard, but those forelorn men which made the last retreat, which were committed to Sir Charles Percy, with whom I imbarqued without any impeachment of the enemy, or they to have discovered our departure.

His Lordship made the young Noblemen and some other principall Gentlemen Knights,

Knights, as Sir William Evers, Sir Henry Dock-
wray, Sir William Brown, and a Dutch Gentle-
man that accompanied me that voyage in my
ship.

We were no sooner aboard, but that the
wind blew a stiff gale, so as some were fain
to forsake their anchors, and with this wind
we put for *England*, which continuing vehe-
ment drave us to the leeward of our course to-
wards the coast of *Ireland*. I got in my ship an
extream leak, which kept both my pumps go-
ing without intermission many dayes and
nights before I got to harbour, wherewith my
company were much wearied and discour-
aged even to despair; which made me keep
aloof from the other ships, lest the hope of
their own safety might make them neglect
that of the ship.

The fleet kept no order at all; but every
ship made the best haste home they could,
which as it might have proved dangerous, if
the Spanish fleet which was then bound for
our coast, had not been scattered by the same
weather; so it was in some sort profitable to
us; for some of our smaller shipping which
were driven most leeward toward the coast of
Ireland met with two or three of the Spanish
ships, full of souldiers, which they took, by
which we not onely understood at our co-
ming to *Phymouth* their purpose to have
landed at *Falmouth* with ten thousand men,
but saw the instructions and orders of the sea-
fights, if they had met with us, which was so
full

full of perfection, that I have ever since redoubted their sufficiency in sea Cases.

The fleet arriving thus weather-beaten at *Plymouth*, his Lordship posted to the Court, leaving my Lord *Thomas* now Earl of *Suffolk*; my Lord *Mountjoy* and the rest of the Officers there; and shortly came provision of monie with Commission to the said Lords, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and my self to see the same issued, and distributed by common advise, for the repairing, victualling, and sending about the fleet to *Chatham*, and entertaining of the thousand men I had brought out of the Low countreys; which were then disposed along the coast of *Cornwall*, and after sent into *Ireland*.

Which businesse dispatched I passed by post to *London*, and near *Mary-bone-parke* I met with Sir *William Russell* in his coach, who being my honourable friend then newly returned from *Ireland*, where he had been Deputy, I lighted to salute him with much duty and affection, who stepping out of his coach received me with the like favour; with whom whilest I stood bare-headed being in a sweat I got cold, which held me so extreemly that for three weeks after I could not stirre out of my lodging.

I understood my Lord of *Essex* was at his house at *Wanstead* in great discontentment, to whose Lordship I gave presently knowledge of my arrivall, as also that I would forbear to attend his Lordship till I had been at Court; which then I hoped would have been sooner

then it fell out my sicknesse would permit. For I supposed at my coming to Court, her Majesty, after her most gracious manner, would talk and question with me concerning the late journey, and though it pleased her alwayes to give credit to the reports I made (which I never blemished with falshood for any respect whatsoever) yet I thought this forbearance to see my Lord would make my speech work more effectually.

So soon then as I was able to go abroad, I went to the Court, which was then at *Whitehall*; and because I would use no bodies help to give me access to her Majesty, as also that I desired to be heard more publickly, I resolved to shew my self to her Majesty when she came into the garden; where so soon as she set her gracious eye upon me, she called me to her and questioned with me concerning the journey, seeming greatly incensed against my Lord of *Essex*, laying the whole blame of the evil successe of the journey on his Lordship, both for the not burning and spoiling of the fleet at *Faroll*, and missing the Indian fleet. Wherein with the truth I boldly justified his Lordship with such earnestnesse, that my voice growing shrill the standers by, which were many, might hear, (for her Majesty then walked) laying the blame freely upon them that deserved it. And some there present being called to confront me, were forced to confesse the contrary of that they had delivered to her Majesty, insomuch that I answered

answered all objections against the *Earl*, wherewith her Majesty well quieted and satisfied sate her down in the end of the walk, and calling me to her fell into more particular discourse of his Lordships humours and ambition; all which she pleased then to construe so graciously that before she left me she fell into much commendation of him, who very shortly after came to the Court.

This office I performed to his Lordship to the grieving and bitter incensing of the contrary party against me, when notwithstanding I had discovered (as is aforesaid) in my recuilment his Lordships coldnesse of affection to me, and had plainly told my Lord himself mine own resolution, in which I still persisted, not to follow his Lordship any more in the warres, yet to make as full return as I could for the good favour the world supposed his Lordship bare me, fearing more to incurre the opinion of ingratitude then the malice of any enemies, how great soever, which the delivery of truth could procure me.

The Government of the BRIELL.

I Stayed the winter following in England, in which time my Lord Sheffeld making resignation of his Government of the Briell into her Majesties hands, I was advised and encouraged by my good friends to make means to her Majesty for that charge, which it was long before I could hearken unto, having no friends to rely on. For, as I had good cause to doubt my Lord of Essex would not further me in that suit, so I was as loth to have any thing by his means in the terms I then stood in with his Lordship, much lesse by any other persons that were known his opposers.

Being still urged to undertake the suit, I began at length to take some better liking of it, and to guesse there was some further meaning in it, and therefore I answered, that if I were assured that Master Secretary would not crosse me, I would undertake the matter, whereof having some hope given me, I took occasion one day in the chamber of presence to tell his Lordship as much, who answered me, that as he would be no mover or recommender of suits for me or any other, so he would not crosse me. I desired his Lordship of no further favour then might be lookt for from a man in his place for publick respects. And hereupon I resolved to have her Majesty moved, which Sir Fulk Grevill performed effectually:

ctually: her Majesty, as her manner was, fell to objecting, That I served the States, and that those two charges could not well stand together.

My Lord of *Essex* was before this gone from Court discontented because of the difficulty he found in obtaining the *Earl-Marshalship* of England; I went therefore to *Wanstead* to his Lordship in good manners to acquaint him with what I had done, who rather discouraged me then otherwise in the pursuit. Notwithstanding I waited and followed my businesse hard, and one evening in the garden moved her Majesty my self, who alleadging, as before she had done to *Sir Fulk Grevill*, That it could not stand with her service, that both those places should go together; I told her Majesty that I was willing (if there were no remedy) rather to forsake the States service then misse the place I was a suiter to her Majesty for, in hers; and so for that time her Majesty left me without any discouragement. The *Earl of Suffex* was my onely competitor, and for him my Lord *North* professed to stand earnestly, who (as soon as I was risen from my knees) told me that such places as I was now a suiter for were wonted to be granted onely to Noblemen. I answered there were none ennobled but by the favour of the Prince, and the same way I took.

About this time her Majesty being in hand with the States to make a transaction from the old treaty to the new (in which the States

were to take upon them the payment to her Majesty yearly so much monie as would pay the ordinary Garrison of the cautionary towns) it fell in deliberation what numbers were competent for the guard of the said towns , wherein before my Lords would resolve, they were pleased to call before them my Lord *Sidney* and my self, to hear our opinions, addressing their speech concerning the *Briell* to me, whereunto I made such answer as I thought fit; not partially, as one that pretended to have interest in that Government, but as I thought meet for her Majesties service.

And hereupon Master Secretary took occasion merrily to say to my Lords, that they might see what difference there was betwixt the care of Sir *Francis Vere*, a neutrall man, and that of my Lord *Sidney*, that spake for his own Government: but saith his Lordship, he will repent it when he is Governour, and then told their Lordships *I* was suiter for the place, and that *I* should have for it his best furtherance. My Lords gave a very favourable applause to Master Secretaries resolution, and severally blamed me, that *I* had not acquainted them with my suite, and taken the furtherance they willingly would have given me. It is true, *I* never made any body acquainted with my suit but Sir *Fulk Grevill* and Master Secretary. From thence forward *I* addressed my self more freely to Master Secretary, and conceived by his fashion an assurance of good
issue,

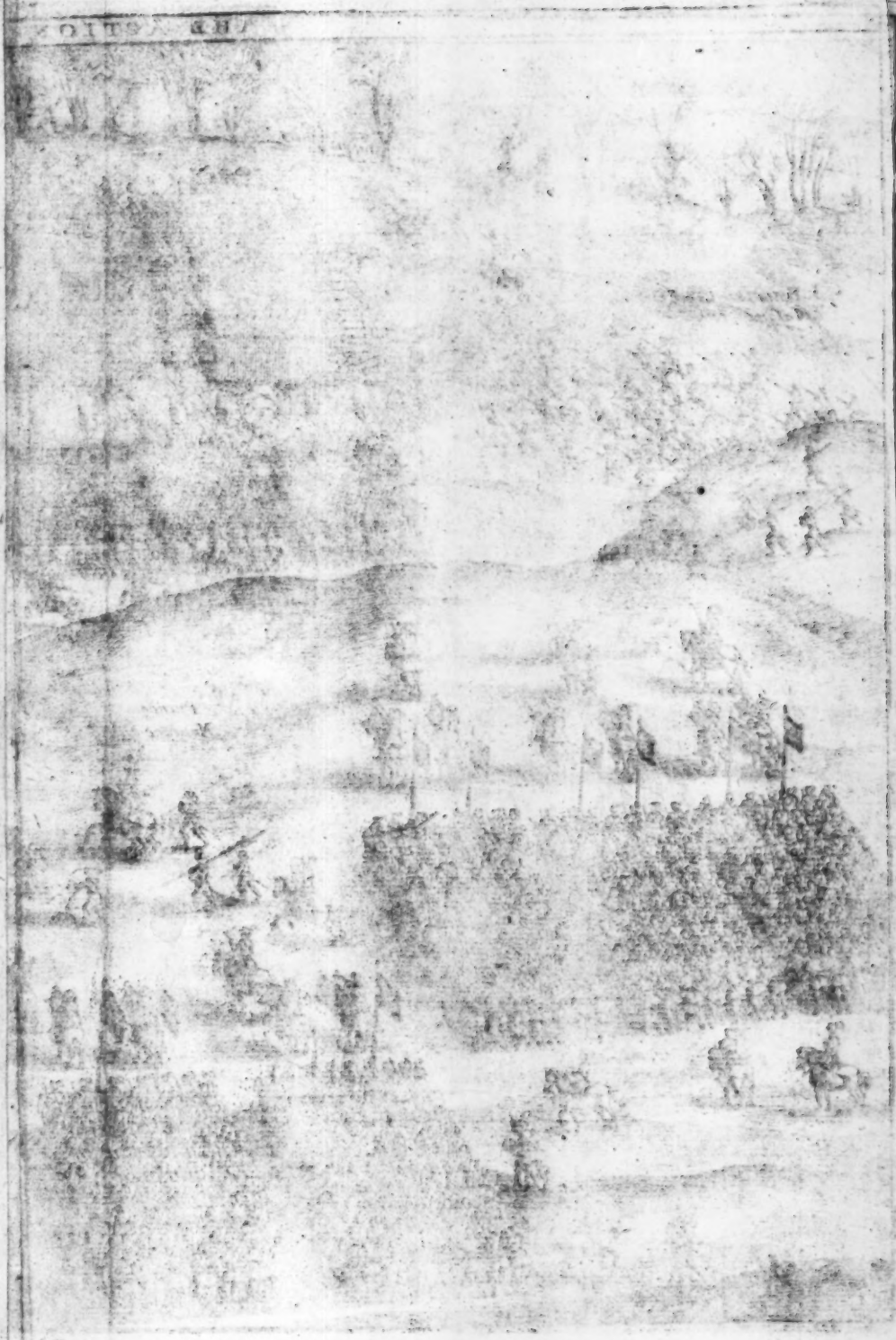
issue, though I had not a finall dispatch in two moneths after.

In the mean time my Lord Sidney and my Lord Gray were labouring to succeed me in the States service; my Lord of Essex had promised his assistance to my Lord Sidney, inso-much as when I told him at his coming to the Court in what forwardnesse I was for the Briell, and danger to lose my other charge, and who were Competitours to succeed me, he plainly said that he had given my Lord Sidney his promise to procure him a Regiment in the States service. I answered, that the command of the Nation belonged to me by Commission; that there was as little reason for my Lord to be under my authority as for me to yield my authority to him; that in respect of his Government he was as uncapable of that charge as my self. By this again I found his Lordships care to hold me back; notwithstanding my Lord Sidney had soon made an end of his suit. But my Lord Gray stuck longer to it, and was earnestest, inso-much as there passed speeches in heat betwixt him and me, and yet in the end such was the favour of the Prince, that I enjoyed both the one and the other charge. In the same year one thousand five hundred ninety seven, about the latter end of September, I passed into the Low countreys, took and gave the oaths that are usuall betwixt those of Holland the Governour and Townsmen of the Briell, and so was established in that Government.

The action at TURNHOULT.

THat winter (one thousand five hundred ninety and seven) the enemy lying at Turnhout, an open village, with four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, one day amongst other speeches I said to Mounſieur Barnevelt, that they did but tempt us to beat them; which it seemeth he marked, for shortly after the States resolved to make an attempt on them, and gave order to the Count Maurice to that end to gather his forces together, which at one instant shipped from their severall garrisons, arrived with great secreſie at Gertrudenberg, in all to the number of six thousand foot and one thousand horse, whereof some two hundred came from Flushing with S^r Robert Sidney, which troop because he desired should march with the rest of the English, in the love and respect I professed and truly bare to him, I made offer to him to command one of the two troops the English forces were then divided into, which he refused not.

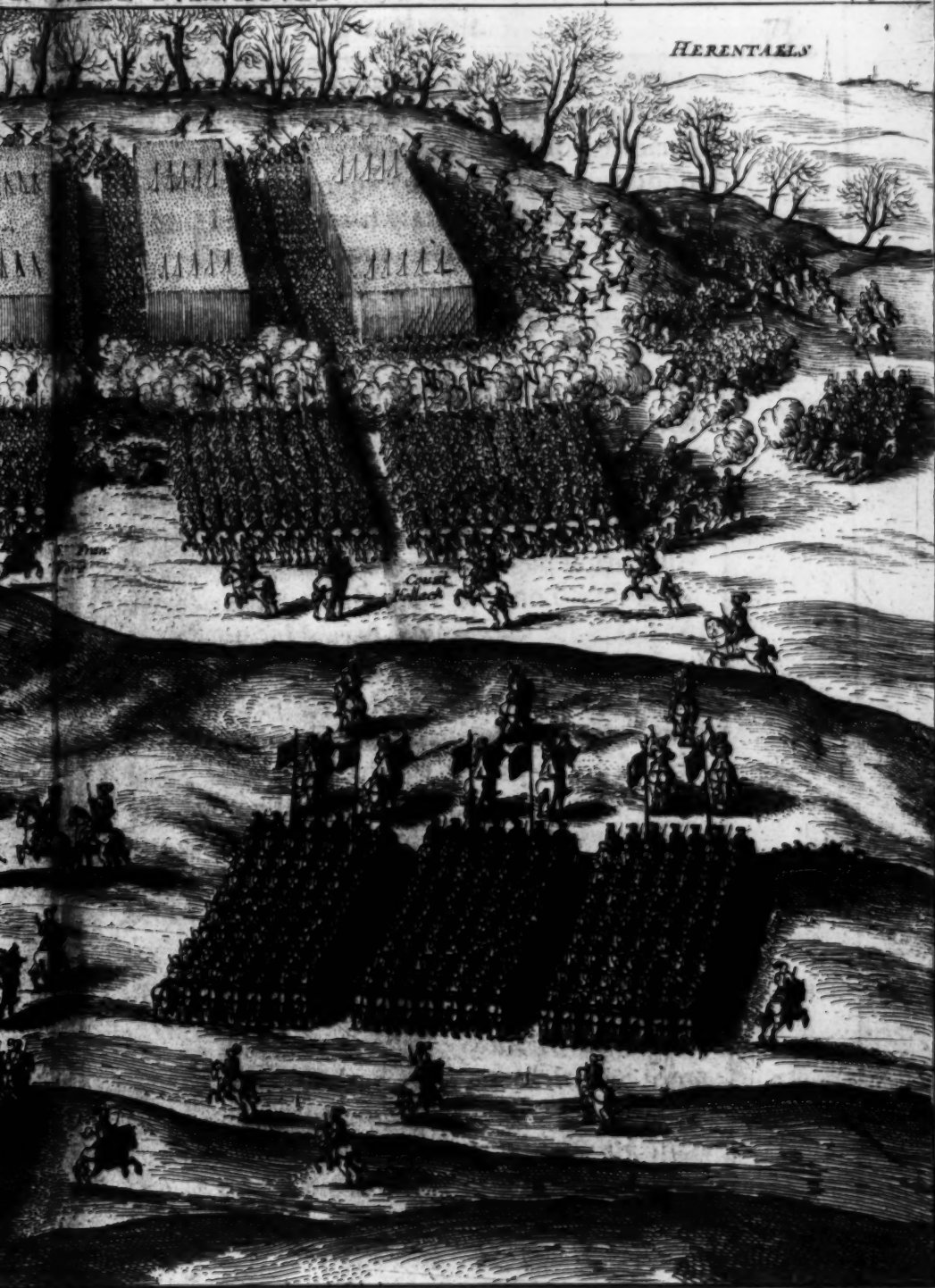
That evening was spent in consulting and ordering of things. In the morning by break of day the troops began to march, and continued till two hours within night, and there rested within a league of Turnhout. There we understood by our espiall, that the enemy lay still without any manner of intrenchment, having as yet no intelligence of us. A good part of that night was spent also in debating of matters.



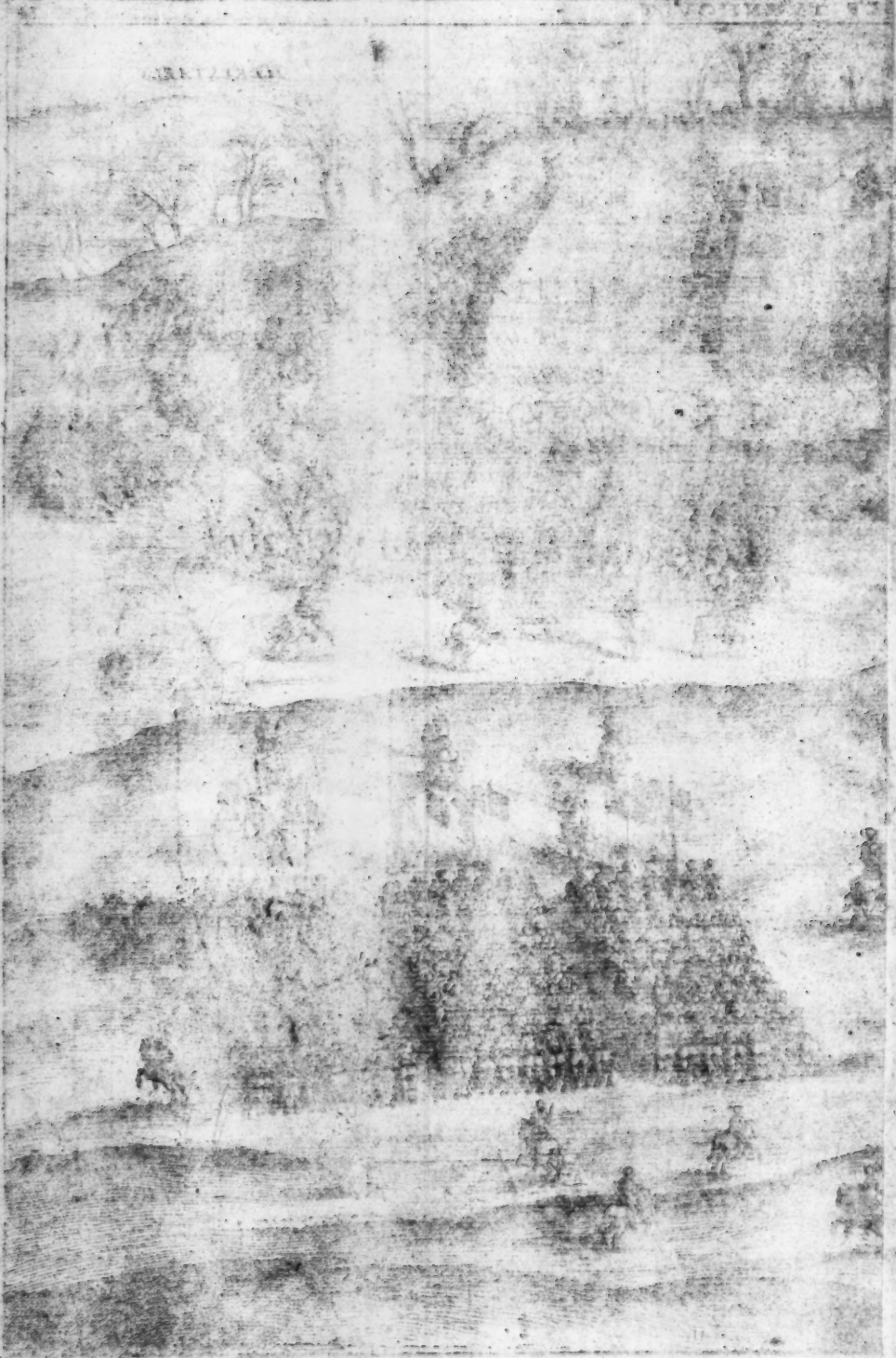
THE ACTION



HERENTAKLS



ARTIST'S



matters. In the end it was resolved, if the enemy abode our coming in the village, with our Cannon to batter them, & so to dislodge them; or with our troops to force the place upon them. The vanguard was given to the English troops, with the Count Maurice his guard, and some other selected companies of the Dutch, which the Count kept ordinarily in the vanguard.

The night was very cold, insomuch as the Count Maurice himself going up and down the quarter, with straw and such other blazing stuff, made fires in some places with his own hands by the corps-du-guard. Sir Robert Sidney and I got us into a barn thronged with soldiers to rest, because there was no sleeping by the Count Maurice, who was disposed to watch, whence I was also called to attend him. In the morning we set forward, and by break of day came within a faulcon-shot of Turnhout, where the troops were put in battel; whence sending some light horse towards the town to discover, word was brought that the enemy had caused his baggage to march all night, and that now the rereward of their troops were going out of the town, whereupon the Count Maurice caused our vanguard to advance to the town, with which he marched.

By that time we were come to the town; the enemy was clear gone out of it, and some musket-shot off, on the way to Herentalls beyond a narrow bridge, over which one man could onely go in front, they made a stand

with some of their men, and galled our scouts, which followed on the track. The Count *Maurice* made a half half way betwixt the bridge and the town, where I offered to beat the enemy from this passage, if he would give me some men, alledging that this was only a shew of the enemy to amuse us, whilst he withdrew the body of his forces, and therefore this required a speedy execution.

Hereupon he appointed me two hundred muskettiers of his own guard, and the other Dutch companies, with Officers to receive my commandments, saying, that he would second me according as occasion should serve: with which I went directly towards this bridge, near which I found the Count *Hollock*, who that journey commanded the horse. He told me of an easier passage over that water, and offered me guides, but the distance agreed not with the necessity of the haste, and therefore I excused my self of altering my way, which he took in very ill part, insomuch as not long after he wrote unto me a letter of expostulation, as if I had failed in the acknowledgment of his authority, which he pretended by an ancient Commission to be Lieutenant-General of *Holland*; and consequently of all the forces, which I answered in good and fitting terms to his contentment. And so placing my men in the best places of advantage to command the bridge, I made them play at the enemy, who soon forsook the bridge being so narrow as afore-said, and of a good length. I durst

durst not adventure at the first to passe my men over it, the rather for that the countrey on the other side was very thick of wood: but after a little pause, I thrust over some few foot, and by a foard adjoyning, (though very deep and difficult) I sent some few horse to discover vvhat the enemy did, and causing mine own horse to be led through the said foard, went my self over the bridge, from which some half a harquebush-shot I found a small fort of pretty defence abandoned, into which I put my footmen which were first passed, and sent for the rest to come with all diligence.

In the mean time taking my horse, I rode with some few, officers and others after the enemy, whom we soon espied somevvhiles marching, othervvhile standing as if they had met with some impediment before them: which we thought was caused by the number of their carriages.

The way they marched was through a lane of good breadth, hemmed in with thick underwoods on both sides, fit as I thought to cover the smalnesse of the number of my men. Whereupon, as also on the opinion the enemy might justly conceive that the rest of our troops followed at hand, I took the boldnesse and assurance to follow them with those two hundred muskettiers, which I put into the skirts of the vvood. So as betvvixt them and the high-vvay in vvhich the enemy marched, there vvvas a vvell-grovvn hedge. My self,

vwith about some fifteen or sixteen horsmen of mine ovvn follovvers and servants, kept the high-vvay, advancing tovwards the enemy: giving in the mean time the Count *Maurice* advise vvhat I savv, vvhat I did, and vvhat an assured victory he had in his hands, if he vvould advance the troops.

I vvvas not gone tvo musket-shot from this fort, but some choice men of the enemy, whom they had appointed to make the retreat, discharged on us, and our men again ansvvered them, and pressing upon them put them nearer to their hindermost body of pikes, under the favour of vvwhich they and such as from time to time vvvere sent to refresh them, maintained skirmish vvith us. When they marched, I followed; vvhen they stood, I stayed; and standing or marching I kept vvithin reach, for the most part, of their body of pikes; so as I slew and galled many of them, and in this manner held them play at the least four hours, till I came to an open heath, vvwhich was from the bridge about some five or six English miles; sending in the mean time messenger upon messenger to the Count *Maurice* and the Count *Fiblock* for more troops. And it pleased Sir *Robert Sidney* himself, vvho also came up to me, and looked on the enemy; vvhen he saw the fair occasion, to ride back to procure more forces. But all this vvwhile none came, not so much as any principal officer of the armie, to see vvhat I did.

On the left hand of this heath (vvwhich is little

the lesse then three miles over) were woods and inclosed fields, coasting the way the enemy was to take, in distance some musket-shot and a half. Along these I caused my muskettiers to advance, and, as they could, from the skirts of the heath to play upon the enemy, which was more to shew them and our men that were behinde by hearing the shot, that we had not forsaken the enemy, then for any great hurt we could do them. My self, with some thirty or fourty horse, that were come up to me to see the sport, following them aloof off.

The enemy seeing no grosse troop to follow them, began to take heart, put themselves into order in four battalions; their horsemen on their wings advancing their way easily. When we had in this manner passed half the heath, our horsemen in sixteen troops (for they were so many) began to appear behinde us at the entry of the heath, not the way we had passed, but more to the right hand, coasting the skirts of the heath a good round pace. This sight made the enemy mend his pace, and gave us more courage to follow them, so as now we omitted no endeavour which might hinder their way, falling again into skirmish with them. For they fearing more those that they saw afar off, then us that followed them at their heels, (being a contemptible number to them that might see us and tell us) mended still their pace: I therefore sent messengers to those horsemen (for of our footmen there was

no help to be expected) to tell them, that if they came not with all speed possible, the enemy would get into the streight and fast countrey, in which there could be no good done on them.

They were not above two musket-shot from the mouth of the streight, when the Count *Maurice* with six companies of horse came near unto us that followed the enemy in the tail. The other horsemen, because they fetched a greater compasse, and came more upon the front and right flank of the enemy, were further off. I sent to the Count to desire him to give me those horsemen. And in the mean time to give the enemy some stay, I made a round proffer to charge the rereward, under the countenance of that second, with those horse and foot I had: which took good effect; for they knowing no other but that all the troops were also ready to charge, made a stand, and seeing our horsemen on the right wing to grow somewhat near, put themselves into a stronger order. My messenger returning from the Count *Maurice*, told me he would speak with me; to whom I made haste, and as the time required, in few words having delivered my minde, he gave me three companies of horse to use as I should see cause, with which I went on the spur, for the enemy was now marching again, and was come even into the entry of the streight.

The other horsemen with the Count *Hollock*, seeing me go to charge, did the like also; so that

that much about one instant he charged on the right corner of their front, and on their right flank, and I with my troops on the rearward and left flank, so roundly, that their shot after the first volley sufficed for themselves, (for their pikes being ranged in four battels, stood one in the way of another, not well ordered, as in that case they should have been, to succour their shoo, and abide the charge of the horsemen) and so charged their pikes, not breaking through them at the first push (as it was anciently used by the men of arms with their barbed horses) but as the long pistols delivered at hand, had made the ranks thicke, so thereupon the rest of the horse got within them, so at indeed it was a victory obtained without fight. For till they were utterly broken and scattered (which was after a short time) few or none died by handy strokes. The footmen defeated, our horsemen disordered (as they had been in the charge and execution) followed the chase of their horsemen and baggage, which took the way of *Flerentalls*.

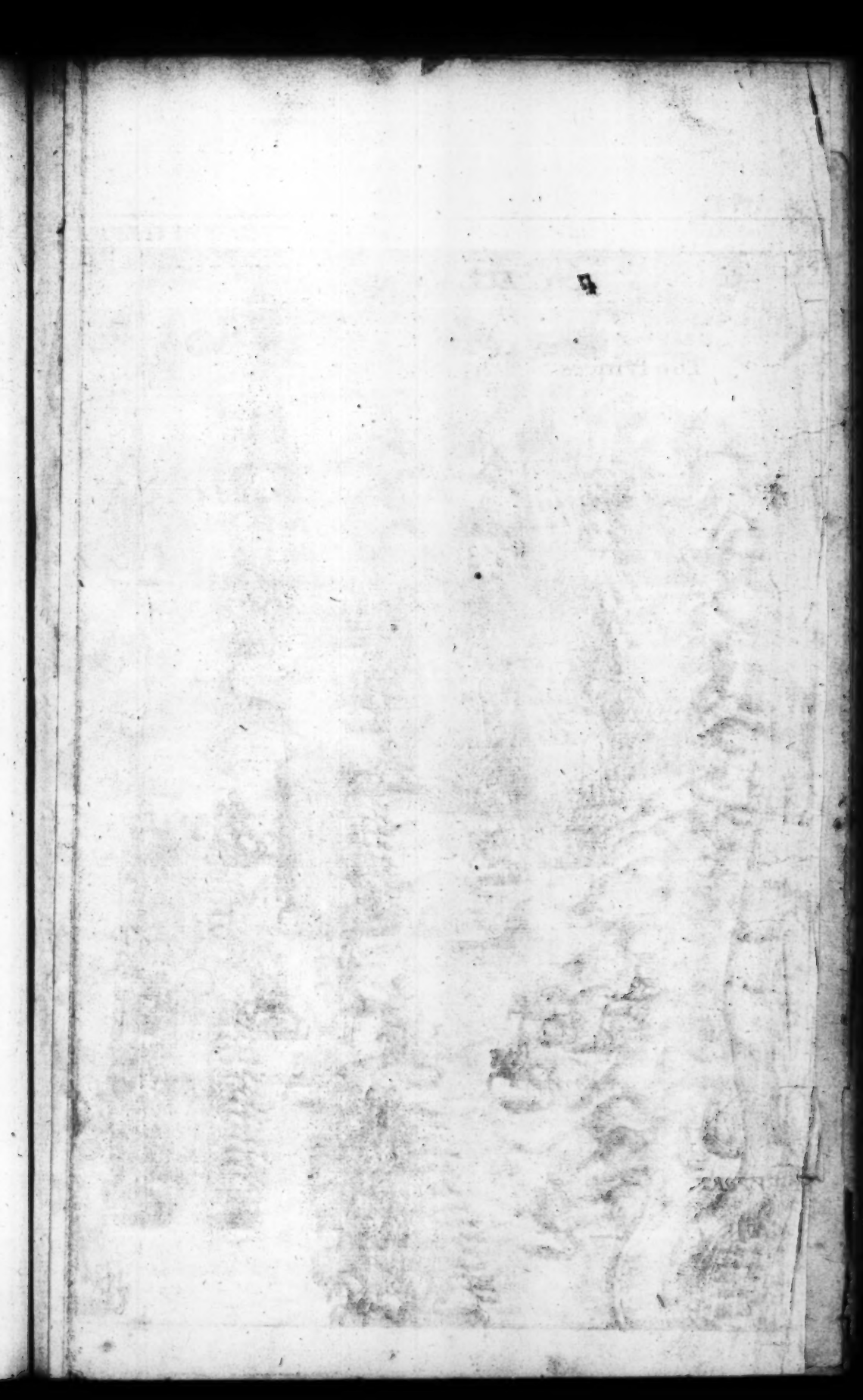
I foresaw that the enemies horse, that had with-drawn themselves in good order, and untouched of us at the beginning of the fight, would soon put to rout those disordered men, and therefore made all the haste that I could to the mouth of the streight there to stay them. Where finding the Count *Hollock*, I told him he should do well to suffer no more to passe, so riding forward on the other end of the streight where it opened on a champain, I overtook

Sir

Sir Nicholas Parker, who commanded the three companies of *English* horse under me, who had some thirty souldiers with the three Cornets; with these I stayed on a green plot just in the mouth of the streight, having on either hand a roade washy way, with purpose to gather unto me those that came after me, and relieve our men, if the enemy chased them.

I had no sooner placed the troop, but I might see our men come back as fast and as disordered as they went out, passing the streight on either hand of me, not to be stayed for any intreaty. The most of our men passed, and the enemy approaching, Sir Nicholas Parker asked me what I meant to do; I told him, attend the enemy with our troop there. Then (saith he) you must be gone with the rest; and so almost with the latest, the enemy being upon us, I followed his counsel, and so all of us great and small were chased through the streight again; where our troops gathering head, and our foot appearing we held good; and the enemy without any further attempt made his retreat. There were taken between fourty and fifty ensignes, and slain and taken of the enemy near three thousand; and their Generall Signieur de Ballancy, and Count de Warvas died on the place.

This exploit thus happily atchieved, the Count Maurice with the army returned that evening to Turnboul, where the castle held by some of the enemy yielded, and the next day marched towards Gertrudenberg. And I to accom-





BATTLE AT NEVPORT A.D. 1600.

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accompany Sir Robert Sidney, who took the next way to his Government, went with him to *William-Stadt*; where I did on my part truly and sincerely touching the other circumstances of the service, and very friendly when I made mention of him, and gave him my letters to read, and to one of his Captains to deliver in *England*; but my letters were held back, and his delivered, that were far more partially written: which art of doubleness changed the love I had so long born him into a deep dislike, that could not be soon digested.

The Battel at NEWPORT.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred, the enemies forces being weak and in mutinies, and his affairs in disorder, the States resolved to make an offensive warre in *Flanders*, as the fittest place to annoy the enemy most, and to secure their own State, if they could recover the Coast-towns, which was the scope of their enterprize. As this action was of great importance, so were the meetings and consultations about it many. To which (though unworthy) my self was called, where amongst other things the facility of the execution coming in question, it was by most affirmed that the enemy was not able nor durst adventure to meet us in the field, which I not onely opposed in opinion, but more particularly made it appear that within

fourteen dayes after our landing in *Flanders* they might and would be with us to offer us fight, as afterwards it fell precisely out.

The army imbarqued with purpose to have landed at *Ostend*; but finding the wind contrary, when we came into *Zeland*, upon a new consultation it was resolved to disembarque upon the coast of *Flanders* lying on the river of *Skelde*; and accordingly by a small fort called the *Philippines*, we ran our vessels (which were flat bottomed after the manner of that countrey) aground at a high-water, which, the ebbe coming, lay on dry ground, and so with much ease and readinesse we landed both horse and foot. Our army consisted of about twelve thousand footmen and three thousand horse, and was divided into three parts, committed to severall Commanders, viz. the Count *Ernest* of *Nassau*, the Count *Solmes*, and my self; my troop consisting of one thousand six hundred English men, and two thousand five hundred *Brisons*, and ten Cornets of horse; with which troop I took my turn of vanguard, battel, and reeward, as it fell out. We marched through the countrey to *Eckela*, and *Bruges*, and so to *Oldenburgh* a fort of the enemies not farre from *Ostend*, which the enemy had abandoned, as also some other of lesse strength, by which means the passage to *Ostend* was open and free.

The army encamped and rested there two or three dayes to refresh us with victuals, especially drink; whereof the army had suffered

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great want, the water of the countrey we had passed being for the most part very troubled and moorish. It was again consulted where the army should be first imploied, either in taking the forts the enemy held in the low and broken grounds about *Ostend*, or in the siege of *Newport*: the latter being resolved on, the *States*, who had all this while marched and abode with the army, departed to *Ostend* as the fittest place to reside in. And the Count *Solmes* with his part of the army was sent the direct way to *Ostend*, to take in the fort *Albertus*, and open the passage betwixt that town and *Newport*. The Count *Maurice* with the rest of the army leaving the fort of *Oldenburgh* and the others, which the enemy had forsaken, well guarded, (as was behoovefull, because without forcing them the enemy could not come to us but by fetching a great compasse,) marched by *Hemskerk* towards a fort called the *Damme* upon the river that goeth to *Newport*; but finding the countrey weak and moorish, and not able to bear the weight of our carriages and artillery, returned to a small village not farre from *Hemskerk* and lodged there.

Thence we crossed through the meadows towards the sea-side, filling many ditches, and laying bridges to passe the waters, whereof that countrey is full. And so with much adoe we got to the Downs by the sea-side, and incamped about some Cannon-shot from the fort *Albertus*, which was before rendered to the Count *Solmes*. In the morning early we

matched upon the sea-lands towards Newport, and at the ebb waded the river on that side that maketh the haven of that town, and so incamped, and spent two or three dayes in quartering, and intrenching our selves in places of best advantage for our own safety, and the besieging of the town, laying a stone bridge over the narrowest of the haven for our carriages and troops to passe to and fro at all times, if occasion required.

In the mean time the Count was advertised from those of Ostend and those of Oldenburg, that the enemy with good troops of horse and foot were come and lodged near the fort, whereupon consulting, the opinions were diverse, the most agreeing that it was onely a bravado made of Riva, who before, we had heard, had gathered between three and four thousand men together near the Shys, to divert us from our enterprise, and that upon our remove towards him he would make his retreat to the Shys again.

But this falling out jump with the calculation I had before made, I insisted that it was the grosse of their army, and that it was needfull for us without delay to march thither with our army also, lest that fort and the rest fell into the enemies hands, who might then come and lodge at our backs, and cut off the passage to Ostend, to the extreame annoyance of the army: that in using diligence to prevent the enemies taking these forts we might at once block up and besiege those the enemy held

held on the low and drowned lands, which enterprise had been in question, and debated as of equal importance with that of Newport. Notwithstanding that my reasons seemed well grounded, the Count Maurice was, as he is naturally, slow in resolving, so as for that time no other thing was done. of newb. ann. viii. 257
 The same night came messengers upon messenger, first that the enemy had Cannon, then that they of the fort were summoned in the Archdukes name; after, that it was yielded upon condition. And that that night was called from my rest upon these severall alarms, which confirmed me in my former opinion, upon which I still insisted, with this change, that, whereas my first purpose was to stop the enemies passage under the favour of these forts, now, that occasion lost, we were to march to the higher mouth of the passage ourselves had made through the low grounds, and to occupy the same, which was the shortest and readiest way the enemy had to the Downs and sea-side. of newb. ann. viii. 257

The Count Maurice liked it well, and resolved to send forthwith the Count Ernst with two thousand five hundred footmen and five hundred horsemen, with some artillery also and provision to intrench upon the same passage, saying he would follow and second them with the rest of the army in due season, which course I could not approve nor allow of, shewing my reasons how this dividing of forces might endanger the whole; for I knew

the enemy would in all likelihood use all possible diligence to get through this passage, and might well doe it with his vanguard, and part of his forces before the arrivall of these men, which being so few in number would not be able to make resistance, whereas our whole army marching, if the enemy had been fully passed the low grounds, we had our forces united to give them battell, according to the resolution taken, if he sought us or came in our way: if part of his army were onely passed, which was the likeliest, (the shortnesse of time, the hinderance of the night, and the narrownesse of the way considered) then we had undoubted victory: if we were there before him, the passage was ours.

About midnight the Count had his dispatch and order to take of those troops that were with the Count Solmes as readiest for that service. The rest of the army was commanded to march down to the havens side, by the break of day to passe with the first ebb. It was my turn then to have the vanguard, which made me carefull not to be wanting in my duty, so as in due time my troop was at the place appointed. And because the water was not yet passable, I went my self to the Count Maurice to know his further pleasure, whom I found by the bridge with most of the chief officers of the army: whither not long after news was brought unto him, that the enemy was passed the Downs and marching towards us, which strook him into a dump. I told him that

that all possible speed must be used to passe the forces before the enemy was possessed of the other side of the haven: that therefore I would go to my troop to take the first opportunity of the tide, desiring him to give me his further order what I was to do, when I had passed the haven: he willed me to do in all things as I saw cause my self, calling to him the Count Lodowick of Nassau, who then commanded the horse as Generall, he bad him go along with me, and follow my directions. So I left the Count Maurice and went to my troop, and so soon as the tide served, I passed my men as they stood in their barrakins. The souldiers would have stripped themselves to have kept their clothes dry, as I had willed them when I crossed the haven first, but then I thought it not expedient the enemy being so near at hand. And therefore willed them to keep on their clothes and not to care for the wetting of them, for they should either need none, or have better and drier clothes to sleepe in that night in boate and on bus.

When the troop of the vanguard was passed, I left the footmen standing ranged in their order betwixt the Downs and sand-hills and the sea, and with the horse advanced towards the enemy, (whom we might discover afar off coming towards us by the sea-side) not to engage a skirmish or fight, but to choose a fit place to attend them in, which was now the only advantage we could by industry get of the enemy, for by the situation of the countrey that skill and dexterity we presumed

sumed to excell our enemies in, which was the apt and agile motions of our battalions, was utterly taken from us. For the space betwixt the sea and the sand-hills or Downs, was commanded by the said hills, which are of many heads reared, and commanding one another, containing so much breadth in most places that our troops could not occupy the whole, and every where so confusedly packt together, so brokenly and steeply, that the troops could neither well discern what was done a stones-cast before them, nor advance forward in any order to second, if need were. And on the other side of the Downs towards the firm land, if the whole breadth were not possessed, the enemy might passe to the haven of Newport, where our bridge and most of our shipping yet lay on the dry ground, and spoil and burn them in our view. All which inconveniences I was to prevent.

Finding therefore a place where the hills and Downs stood in a manner divided with a hollow bottom, the bottom narrower and the hills higher to the sea-side and North then towards the in-land and South, which ran clean thwart from the sea-land to the in-land, the Downs also there being of no great breadth so that we might conveniently occupy them with our front, and command as well the sea-shore as the way that lay betwixt the low in-land and the foot of the Downs. In that place on the hither side of that bottom, I resolved to attend the enemy, and therefore having caused
my

my troop to advance, I drew from the whole vanguard about one thousand men, viz. two hundred and fifty *English-men*, the Count *Maurice* his guard, and of such other companies as usually marched with it two hundred & fifty, and of the *Frisons* five hundred, which were all muskettiers, the other two troops consisting of shot and pikes. The *English* and fifty of the Counts guard I placed on the top of a hill that lay more advanced then the rest, which being steep and sandy was not easily to be mounted, and in the top so hollow that the men lay covered from the hills on the other side, and might fight from it as from a parapett.

Just behinde this hill, about one hundred paces was another far more high, on the top of which also I placed the other two hundred men of the troop of the guard, on which also with a little labour of the souldier, they lay at good covert.

These two hills were joyned together with a ridge somewhat lower then the foremost hill, which end-wise lay East and West, and broad-wise looked towards the South, or inland, and commanded all the ground passable, on the out-side very steep, loose, sandy, and ill to be mounted, within hollow, in which I placed the five hundred *Frison*-muskettiers, giving charge to the Officers to bestow their shot onely to the Southward, when time should serve, which was directly on our right side and flank, as we then stood turned towards the enemy.

Betwixt those two hills, on the left hand or flank looking towards the sea, I placed in covert (in places for the purpose so near the sea-sand, that they might with ease and good order in an instant break into it) two of the four troops of the *English*, making about seven hundred men ranged with their faces to the Northward, looking directly from our left flank. If the enemy adventured to passe by us to the other troops, I meant to leave them in his eie. Upon the sands more Easterly then the inmost of the two hills, I ranged in a front with a space betwixt them, the other two troops of the *English*, and a pretty distance behinde them more to the seaward, the *Frisons* in four battalions, two in front, with a space to receive betwixt them one of the other two battalions, that stood behinde them, the files and spaces betwixt the troops as close as might be conveniently, to leave the more space for the ranging the other troops, with a competent distance betwixt each troop, so as one troop shadowed not another, but all might be in the enemies eie at one instant. And thus the vanguard occupied about one third part of the downs, leaving the rest to be manned as occasion should serve by the other troops: and on the left hand uttermost to the sea, and more advanced, I placed the horsemen.

I had scarce done this work, when the Count *Maurice* with the chief Commanders of the army came to the head of my troops, where on horse-back and in the hearing of all
stand

standers by, which were many, he put in deliberation whether he should advance with his army towards the enemy, or abide their coming. Those that spake (as in such cases most men will not seem fearfull) counselled to march forward, for that they thought it would daunt the enemy, and make the victory the more easie; whereas in attending him he would gather courage out of the opinion of our fear, or take the opportunity of our stay to fortifie upon the passage to *Ostend*, to cut off our victuals and retreat.

I alleadged that their army that had been gathered in haste, brought into a countrey where they intended no such war, could neither have provision of victuals with them for any time, nor any magazines in those parts to furnish them; nor other store in that wasted countrey, and in that latter end of the year to be expected; so as fear there was none that they should seat themselves there to starve us, that had store of victuals in our shipping, and the sea open to supply us with all sailing winds. And as for the vain courage they should get by our supposed fear, (after so long a march with climbing up and down those steep sandy hills in the extremitie of heat, wearied and spent before they could come to us, and then finding us fresh and lusty, and ready to receive them in our strength of advantage) it would turn to their greater confusion and terrour.

They persisted, and, as it were, with one

voice opposed, so as in the end I was moved to say, that all the world could not make me change my counsell. The Count Maurice was pleased to like of it, resolving not to passe any further towards the enemy; and for the ordering of things, reposed so much trust in me, as that he believed they were well, without viewing the places or examining the reasons of my doings; but returned to give order to the rest of the army, which as the water ebbed he enlarged to the sea-ward; next the which the horsemen were placed; and six piece of Ordnance advanced into the head of the vanguard.

In this order we stayed, and the enemy, though still in the ele, moved not forward for the space of two hours; and then, rather turning from us then advancing, they crossed the downs; & rested other two hours at the foot of them towards the land; which confirmed their opinions that held he would lodge. But we found reasons out of all their proceedings to keep us from wavering. For it was probable to us, that the enemy over-wearied & tired with that night and dayes travell, and seeing us passed the haven of *Newport*, (wherein to have hindered and prevented us was the greatest cause of his haste) whilst he saw us stirring and ordering our selves, might hope that we that were fresh, now passed and engaged to fight, would advance, the rather to have the help of our troops with the Count *Ernest*, if perchance he were retired to *Ostend*, which, the

the heaven the sight were to that place, might
be of most use to us, or else if we had heard
of their defeat, we would be drawn on with
revange. But when they saw that we held
our place not moving forward, being out of
that hope, and not provided to make any long
stay, for the reasons before mentioned, they
might resolve to refresh themselves, and then
to advance towards us, for which that side
was more convenient then the bare sea-sands.
Which we considered, that their chief trust
resting in their souldiers, (which were old
trained souldiers, and so that day unsoiled in
the field) they would the rather attend the
growing of the tide, (which was then at the
lowest) that the scope of the sands might be
lesse spacious and serviceable for horsemen.

About half flood they crossed again the
downs to the sea-sands, and marched forward,
sending some light horsemen far before the
troop, one of which (as we supposed) suffered
himself to be taken, who being brought to
the Count Maurice, told him aloud that Count
Ernst was defeated, and that he should pre-
sently have banel, augmenting the number,
bravery and resolution of their men. The losse
of our men we understood before, and there-
fore were carefull to have few present at the
hearing of the prisoner, whose mouth being
stopped by the Count *Maurice* his order, the
rest that heard it betrayed it either in word
or countenance to the souldier.

The enemy growing nearer and nearer, and

their horsmen coming in the head of their troops, in a competent distance to have been drayn to a fight, I wvould very vvillingly have advanced the horsmen of the vanguard near to them, and vvith some choice and vvell-mounted men have beaten in their carabins & skirmishers to their grosse, vvith purpose if they had been charged again, to have retired in haste vvith the said vanguard of horse betwixt the sea and the vanguard of foot, and having drawn them from their foot under the mercy of our Ordnance, and engaged to the rest of our horse, to have charged and followed them resolutely. This advise could not savour to that young Nobleman, that was not well pleased vvith the power the Count *Maurice* had given me over his charge, and therefore was not by him put into execution; who chose rather as the enemy advanced leasurely, so he in like sort to recuil towards the foot.

This counsel of mine taking no better effect, and their horsmen now come vvithin reach of our Cannon, I made the motion to have them discharged, which was well liked, and so well plied, that we made them scatter their troops, and in disorder flie for safety into the downs, which had doubtlesse given us the vvictory vvithout more adoe, if our horsmen had been ready and vvilling to have taken the benefit of that occasion. Their footmen out of our reach kept on their way alongst the sands, and the sooner to requite us, advanced their Ordnance a good distance before them, and shot roundly at us, and did some hurt.

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The water now grew very high, so as both we and they were forced to streighten our front, and the enemy, whether of purpose (as aforesaid) to fight with more advantage (as he took it) with his foot in the downs, or to avoid the shot of our Ordnance (for he could not be so carelesse as to be surpris'd with the tide, and so driven to this sudden change) put all his forces, as wel horse as foot, into the downs, which his horse crossed to the green way betwixt the low lands and the downs.

All our horsemen stood with our reeward, hereupon our vanguard altering order, our batrel and reeward passed into the downs, and in the same distances backward, & sidewise as they had been on the sands, on my left hand before, ranged themselves. So as the front of the three bodies of foot filled the breadth of the downs, all the horsemen being placed on the green way betwixt the low land and the foot of the downs, not in any large front, but one in the tail of another, as the narrowness of the passage enforced. I found a fit place on the top of a hill, from whence the green way on the inside of the downs might be commanded with Ordnance, on which by the Count Maurice his order two demi-Cannons were presently mounted.

The enemy growing very near, I told the Count it was time for me to go to my charge, asking him whether he would command me any more service, he said, no, but to do as I saw cause, willing as the Chiefs that stood about

bout him, to advise him in what part of the army he should be personally; whereunto we all answered, that for many reasons he was to keep in the reeward of all: which he yielded unto. So I went to the vanguard, and after I had viewed the readinesse and order of the severall troops, the enemy now appearing at hand, I (the better to discover their proceedings, and for the readier direction upon all occasions, as also with my presence to encourage our men in the abiding of the first brunt) took my place in the top of the foremost hill before mentioned; where I resolved to abide the issue of that dayes service, as well because the advantages of the ground we had chosen were to stand upon the defence, as also for that in that uneven ground, to stirre from place to place, as is usuall and necessary in the execution and performance of the office of a Captain; where the countrey is open and plain, I should not onely have lost the view of the enemy; upon whose motions in such cases our counsels of execution depend, but of my troops, and they of me, which must needs have caused many unreasonable and confused commandments.

The enemies forelorn-hope of harquebuziers, having gotten the tops of the hills, and places of most advantage on the other side of this bottom before mentioned, began from thence to shoot at us, whilest their vanguard approached, which now growing near at hand, five hundred Spanish, pikes and shot mingled without ensignes or precise order, gave

gave upon the place where my self was, and very obstinately for the space of a great half-hour laboured to enter and force it, favoured with more store of shot from the tops of their hills, the grosse of their vanguard standing in some covert from the shot with me, on the other side of the bottom.

In the mean time the vanguard of their horse advanced along the green way so often mentioned, betwixt the low-land and the Downs towards our horse, that stood more backward against the flank of our battel. Our two pieces of Ordnance were discharged from the top of the hill to good effect, and well plyed; and when they came nearer and thwart our right flank, the five hundred *Frison*-muskettiers, who (as I have before said) were onely destined to bestow their shot that way, did their part, and so galled them that upon the first proffer of a charge, which our horsemen made, they were put to a disordered retreat, even to their troops of foot, our horsemen following them in the tail, who were fain there to give them over.

At the same instant I gave order that a hundred men should be sent from the foremost troop of foot I had layed (as aforesaid) in the Downs, to have given upon the left flank of the enemy, if he attempted to passe by us upon the sands, and as covertly as they could to approach and give upon the right flank of those that were in fight with me. When they were come up and at hands with the enemy, I

sent from the hill where I was, by a hollow descent some sixty men to charge them in front, which amazed the enemy, and put them to run, our men chasing and killing them till they had passed the bottom and came to the grosse of their vanguard, from which were disbanded anew the like number as before, who followed our men, and seized on some heights that were in the bottom somewhat near us, covering their pikes under the shadow of the hills, and playing with the shot from the tops upon our disbanded and skirmishing men.

I sent to drive them from thence (being loth they should gain ground upon us) one of the same troops from whence I had drawn the hundred men before mentioned, with order onely to make that place good. This was a bloody morcell that we strave for, for whilest our men and theirs were not covered with the hanging of the hills, as they advanced or were chased, they lay open to the shot, not onely of those that were possessed of those little hills, but of the other higher, which poured in greater tempests upon them, so as the souldiers that I sent, hasted as for their safety to get the (....) side of the hill, and the enemy for like respect abode their coming with resolution, so as in an instant, as the hill was round and mountable, the men came to handy-blows upon the whole semicircle of it, with much slaughter on both sides, till in the end the enemy was forced to retire.

In the mean time the battel of the enemies
foot

foot were come up to the grosse of the vanguard, which as it had taken the right hand of the Downs, so the battel with some distance betwixt them, though even in front, having been well welcomed with our shot from the tops of the hills, stayed in as good covert as the place would afford, sending fresh men to beat ours from those grounds of advantage in the bottom; so as ours beginning to give back I sent a new supply to make good the place in this bottom, sometimes getting and sometimes losing ground.

The fight was still maintained with new supplies on both sides, wherein I persevered, though with losse of men, because the advantage the ground gave me to beat as well upon their grosse as their loose fighting men, made the losse farre greater on their side, my design being to engage their whole force upon my handfull of men, which I employed sparingly and by piece-meal, & so to spend and waste the enemy that they should not be able to abide the sight of our other troops when they advanced.

The horsemen of their battel and ours encountered, but somewhat more advanced toward the enemy, our men having gotten courage with the first successe: so as our forementioned *Frison*-muskettiers could not so well favour them, but our horsemen being put to retreat, the enemy in the pursuit being saluted by them were stopped and drew back.

Their rereward now come up even with

the other two bodies (for so I term them because their ensignes remained together, though most of the men were drawn from them and in fight, and the ensignes barely attended) advanced on the left hand of the battel, and spreading the breadth of the Downs they were to my troop rather on the corner of the right flank than a front, and our battel and rereward (upon which they directly fronted) a musket shot behinde my troop, toward which it seemed they intended to advance.

First we gave as much to them as we could spare from our hills, but when they began to open upon my *Frison*-muskettiers, which (as before is said) could onely bestow their shot on our right flank, and till that time had done no service but against their horse, they were exceedingly galled, so as they staid suddenly, and amazed, or ashamed to go back seeing none to chase them, in a bottom of some small covert, bestowed themselves, sending out some skirmishers along the Southermost part of the Downs, against which some loose men were sent from our bodies: but our muskettiers that shot standing, and without fear from their rests, galled them most. The horsmen of the rereward shewed themselves on both sides, and some little bickering there was, and so they retired out of the footmens reach.

This was a strange and unusuall fight, for whereas most commonly in battels the successe of the foot dependeth upon that of the horse, here it was clean contrary; for so long

as the foot held good, the horse could not be beaten out of the field, though, as it fell out, they might be chased to them.

All this while the fight continued without intermission hotter and hotter betwixt the other two troops of the enemies and me, both of us sending fresh supplies, as occasion required, to sustain the fight. Insomuch as the whole troops of the *English* were engaged to a hand-fight in the foresaid bottom, saving those few that were placed on the hills; and on the enemies part also few were idle.

And now I saw was the time to give the enemy a deadly blow, his grosses being disbanded as well in occupying places of height and advantage to annoy us, as by those that were sent to dispute the places in question. For their onely strength now consisted in their loose men, which any few horse charging on a sudden in that bottom would have put to flight, and being followed pesse-messe with our foot would never have had means to have rallied & gathered themselves together again. On the other side, I knew that without further succours their numbers would weary and eat us up in the end. I therefore at once sent to the *Prison*-footmen of the vanguard to advance, and to the Count *Maurice* to tell him how things stood, and to desire him to send me part of the horse of the battel; and because I saw the enemy presse & gain upon our men more and more, I sent again messenger upon messenger.

In the mean time, to give our men the more

courage, I went into the bottom amongst them, where riding up and down I was in their eyes both doing the office of a Captain and souldier; and with much adoe we entertained the fight, though the enemy encroached and got upon us.

At my first coming I got one shot through my leg; and a quarter of an hour after another through the same thigh, which I then neither complained nor bragged of, nor so much as thought of any Chirurgeon; for I knew if I left the place my men would instantly quail. I therefore chose (not having been used to have my troops foiled) to try the uttermost rather than to shew them the way to flee, hoping still for the coming of the *Frisons* and the horse I sent for. But their haste was so small that my men overlaid with number forsook the place, notwithstanding my best endeavour to stay them hasting along the sands towards our Cannon, the enemy following them hard.

I was forced seeing them all going, to go for company, with the last, uneasily and unwillingly (God knows) and in the way my horse fell dead under me, and upon me that I could not stirre: I had neither Officer, Gentleman, nor servant about me to give me help. Sir *Robert Drury* by chance came, and a Gentleman, being a servant of his called *Higham*, drew me from under the horse and set me up behinde his Master; which help came very seasonably, for the enemy being near at hand, when

when I fell; by this means I was saved out of their clutches.

Thus I rode to the Ordnance, where I found my brother *Horace* and the most of the officers that were living with some three hundred foot. I made them stand from before the Ordnance, and willed the Cannoniers to discharge upon the enemy that now swarmed upon the sands, and at the same instant, my own companie of horse and Captain *Balls* coming thither, I willed them to go to the charge, and my brother with the foot to advance and second them home. This small number of horse and foot made an exceeding great change on a sudden, for the enemy in hope of victory followed hard, and being upon the sands, where horse might serve upon them, were soon routed, most cut in pieces, the rest saving themselves by flight, as they could, in the downs, our men both horse and foot followed them. Their battels, where their ensignes remained, began to stirre and rouse themselves, rather for defence then to revenge their fellows, for they advanced not.

Our men from the top of the hills, who had kept their places from the beginning, having by this means a fair mark plyed them with shot: our *English* souldiers on all hands with new courage resorted to the fight, and finding these battels very small & thin by reason of the men they had sent to supply the fight, especially of shot, which in these uneven places were of most service, pelted them with our shot, and
pres-

pressing upon them made them recuite. The Count Maurice seeing things on these termes, caused the battel to advance, and his horsemen to make a proffer upon the enemies; upon which fight without attending any strokes the enemy routed and was chased out of the field.

In this last charge I followed not, for seeing the successe upon the sands, and knowing that my directions in the prosecution of the victory would be executed, I could easily judge that the work of that day was at an end. And therefore began to care and provide for my self, who all this while having been undressed, the bloud leaking from me at four holes, together with a dangerous disease that had long held me, had made me extream weak and faint.

The enemy lost above one hundred and twenty ensignes, most of his foot slain, not many of his horse lost. On our side in a manner the whole losse fell upon *English*, of which near eight hundred were hurt and slain, eight Captains slain, the rest all but two hurt, and most of my inferiour Officers hurt and slain. In the rest of the army there was no losse at all to speak of, especially amongst the foot.

I dare not take the whole honour of the victory to the poor *English* troop of one thousand six hundred men, but leave it to be judged by those that may give their censure with lesse suspition of partiality. I will onely affirm that they left nothing for the rest of the

the army to do, but to follow the chase, and that it hath not been heard of that by so small a number, in a ground so indifferent (whereof the onely advantage was the choice and use of the same) without help of spade or other instrument or engine of fortifying, so great and so victorious an army, as the Archdukes, had been so long wrastled withall, and so far spent. Yet this victory had been as assured with lesse losse and touch of reproach (if to give ground to a stronger may be subject to a disgracefull imputation) had the succours of horse or the foot I called for come sooner to us, wherein I will charge and accuse none, but the messengers of their slacknesse.

P

An

An Account of the last charge at M. E. W.

P. O. R. Pubaried by Sir John Ogle.

THE English, who (as that great Captain
of Sir Francis Vere might note) had borne
the burthen of the day, overlaid with num-
bers, and wearied with fight (their succour not com-
ing to them in time) were forced to retire them-
selves in such order as they could from the doore to the
street, where meeting (but too late) with the Eng-
lish, they (like good fellows) to keep us company,
turned all fairly back again with us, and so we both
marched away together in one confused troop. Some
loose horsemen of the enemies came up close to us, and
kild of our men, thrusting divers of them with their
rapiers under their armour in at their backs. Their
foot followed leasurely and were aloof, as not knowing
how suddenly we might turn and make head again; for
our men kept both their arms, and in troop; which Sir
Francis Vere, upon occasion given by some speeches of
mine, noted to me for a good signe: neither was our
retreat, or the enemies pursuit of any extraordinary
swift pace, as easily may be gathered by the considera-
tions both of their and our motions: for we had the
leasure (though, I confesse, not without danger) to
pluck our Captain from under his horse, and mount
him again behinde another, as himself hath told in his
own relation; wherein I cannot but wonder that it
pleased him not to make mention of me, as well as
Higham, since his blood (which remained on my
clothes so long after as I thought fit to wear them)
witnessed clearly, that I could not be far from him,
when



St. JOHN OGILE.
Lieutenant Colonel to St. Francis Vere.



Portrait of John D. Rockefeller
1868

when that office, that came so seasonable and in so good a time, as he saith, was performed unto him.

In this retreat of ours there wanted no persuasions, as well by Sir Francis Vere himself, as some others, to move our men to stand and turn; for we saw a kinde of saintnesse and irresolution even in those that pursued us nearest. And it is certain (if we may call any thing certain whose effects we have not yet seen) that if then we had turned and stood, we had prevented that storm of fortune, wherein we were after threatned, at least we had saved many of our mens lives. But such apprehensions of fear and amazement had laid hold of their spirits, as no persuasion of reason could (for that time) get any place with them. Sir Francis Vere with his troop formerly mentioned, took his way towards the Cannons along the sands, where he by his Chirurgion, they by their fellows might hope for succour. I being faint and weary through heat and much stirring, took some few with me, and crossed into the downs, there awhile to rest me, till I should see how the succeeding events would teach me to dispose of my self, either by direction or adventure.

I was no sooner come thither, but I met with Captain Fairfax and young Mr. Gilbert, who soon after was slain near unto us: there we consulted what we should do, but the time and place affording no long deliberation, taught us to resolve, that the best expedient for our safety was, to endeavour the speedie increase of our little number which we had with us, (I think they were thirty men:) having brought which to a reasonable competency, our further purpose was to give a charge, when we should finde it most expedient, that so (with our honours) we might put an end to those un-

certainities the fortune of that day had. (to our judgments) then thrown upon us.

It was not very long ere that our little body was multiplied to better then an hundred men; for the loose and scattered began of themselves without labour to rally unto us; so much prevails union even in a little body: for whilst to it the broken and disbanded ones do willingly offer themselves for safetie and protection, they themselves by adding of strength to that body, not onely increase the number thereof, but do give and take the greater security to themselves and others.

We were all this while within lesse then musket-shot of a grasse of the enemy, which stood in a hollow or bottom within the downs, (the hills about it giving good shelter against the drops of our shot, (for the showers of them, as also of the enemies, were spent and fallen before) but neither were they so high, nor so steep, that they could forbid entry and commodious passage of charging either to our horse or foot.

This grasse had not many wanting of two thousand men in it, and spying (as it should seem) our little handfull (which at the first they might peradventure neglect or contemn, in regard it was so small a number) now begin to gather some bulk and strength, thought it not unfit to prevent a further growth, and to this end sent out an hundred and fifty men with colours (closely and as coverly as they could) along the skirt of the downs next the inland and Southward, with purpose to charge on the flank or back of us, which they might very conveniently do as we then stood.

These men were advanced very nigh as ere we descried them, when (to) just upon the time of their disco-

discovery, and our men ready to fall upon them, comes Sir Horace Vere on horseback from the strand (it should seem from the pursuit of the enemy, whom the horse had scattered, mentioned by his brother Sir Francis Vere) and with a troop of some two hundred men, marched along the downs towards us. In this troop there were with him Captain Sutton, his own Lieutenant-Colonell Lowel that commanded Sir Francis Vere's foot-company, and some Lieutenants, Morgan also came to us about the time that Fairfax and I joyned unto him, and these were the officers that were afoot in the last charge. The disbanded troops of the enemy seeing us strengthened with such supplies, thought it their fittest course to hasten them the same way they came forth towards us. Captain Fairfax and I would have charged, but Sir Horace Vere willed us to joyne our troops with his, and said we should go together and give one good charge for all upon that great troop, which we saw stood firm before us. We had now with us (our troops being joyned) about some five ensignes, amongst which was mine own, which after was lost in the charge, but recovered again by my officer.

The vigilant & judicious eie of Prince Maurice his Excellency was (it should seem) upon our actions and motions all this while, for (as I have been enformed) he seeing us make head, said to those that stood about him, Voyez Voyez Les Anglois, qui tournent a la charge, and thereupon gave present order to Dubois (then Commissary-generall for the Cavallerie) to advance some of the horse to be ready to attend and fortifie the events that might happen upon this growing charge. This I have not of knowledge, but from such

hands, as it were ill beſeeming me, or any man to queſtion the credit of one of that ranke, qualitie, and reputation. Our troop now, & the diſbanded troop of the enemies marched both towards this groſſe, almoſt with equal pace, ſaving that their haſte was a little greater, according to the proportion of their danger, if they had fallen into our clutches (being then much too ſtrong for them) ere they recovered the ſhelter of their own groſſe; yet ſuch haſte they could not make, but that we were with them before they had wholly caſt themſelves into their friends arms, who opening to receive them facilitated not a little our charge the paſſage, who then fell in peſſe-meſle together amongſt them.

Much about this time came in the horſe, namely, the troops of Vere, Cecill and Ball, who ruſhing in with violence amongſt them ſo confounded and amazed them, that they were preſently broken and diſjoynted, which being done, the ſlaughter was great to them on their ſide, as the execution eaſie to us on ours. This rupture alſo of theirs was not a little farthered by the Archdukes own troop of Harquebuſiers, which having advanced ſomewhat before this groſſe, on the ſkirt which lay betwixt the inland and the higher downs, was ſo encountered by Cecil and his troop, (who had as then received order by Dubois from his Excellency to charge) that they were forced with confuſion to ſeek ſuccour amongſt their foot; Cecil following them in cloſe at their backs, Vere and Ball (as I take it) charged at the front by us, having croſſed into the downs from the ſands and North-ſide towards the ſea. It ſhould ſeem that having broken and ſcattered the enemy, who (as Sir Francis Vere himſelf relateth) were by them driven into the Downs, and ſeeing Sir
Horace

Honourable Vere also to have taken his way thither, they thought it perhaps convenient to hover these abouts, and to hold an eye upon ours, and the enemies' actions, the rather because they might discern Sir Horace Vere now making a new head, and so seeing us charge, charged also with us, which was not disagreeable to their first directions given and mentioned by Sir Francis Vere.

And this (by all probable conjecture) must also be the cause why Sir Francis Vere in his discourse maketh no mention of Sir Edward Cecil; for he not having his direction from him to charge, but from his Excellency (as himself hath told me) Sir Francis Vere being ignorant thereof, and himself likewise not at the charge in person, whereby he might take notice of any mans presence, would not (as appears) expose himself to interpretations, by making any further relation touching particulars, then what might receive credit, either from his own eyes, or commandments. This charge (through the hand and favour of God) gave us the day; what followed is before already set down by that great and worthy Captain Sir Francis Vere.

Clement

“ Clement Edmonds, that learned and judi-
 “ cious Remembrancer of the City of
 “ London, in an observation of his on the
 “ sixth book of *Cesars* Commentary, ma-
 “ king it his designe to draw the exact effi-
 “ gies of a good General, though he could
 “ not be far to seek for an exemplar, while
 “ he had *Cesar* so nigh him; yet found rea-
 “ son to borrow the best lineaments of his
 “ piece out of the actions of Sir Francis Vere.
 “ And to say truth, the whole picture there
 “ drawn is so like him, that it does most
 “ lively represent him with at least a three-
 “ quarter-face; which is more then the
 “ painter (it seems) could do. And lest
 “ you should any longer doubt whether it
 “ be his picture, you shall finde his very
 “ Motto expressed in it: But because it casts
 “ so strong a reflection upon this battel
 “ of *Newport* (without reference to which
 “ Sir Robert Naunton thought neither he nor
 “ his Noble Brother could be taken to the
 “ life) I have thought good here to give
 “ the Reader a copie of it.

I Have already handled this practice of a pretended
 fear, which the History doth so often recommend to
 our consideration, and have shewed the inconvenience
 of over-light credulity, leading such easie weeners to a
 disappointment of their hopes, and consequently to the
 hazzard of their fortune. I will now proceed to that
 which is further implied in this relation, and respecteth
 the chiefeſt duty of a chief Commander: and that is,
 what

What specially is required of a Generall in the carriage and direction of a battel. Concerning which point, as there is nothing more materiall to the effecting of any businesse then opportunity of time, conveniencie of place, and an orderly disposition of the MEANS according to TIME & Place. so in question of encounter or waging battel, the duty of a Leader may be included in these three circumstances. Concerning the qualitie of the place, as the chiefeest and first respected in the choice of a judicious directour, the whole scope of the Romane discipline, from the time of their first Kings even to the last of their Emperours, did alwayes aim at the advantage of place, as a necessary help for the obtaining of victorie: which I have already noted in the Helvetian action. Yet forasmuch as the wisdom and experience of those times did deem it a circumstance of such importance, give me leave once again to inforce the use thereof by these examples. *Habetis milites (saith Labienus in this place) quam petiistis facultatem; hostem iniquo atque impedito loco tenetis, præstate eandem nobis ducibus virtutem, quam sæpenumero Imperatori præstitistis: Ye have, fellow-souldiers, that opportunitie which ye desired, &c. Whereby he cleareth himself of all imputation of ill direction, as having performed the uttermost duty of a Commander, and given such helps by the advantage of the place as are requisite to an easie victory, leaving the rest to the execution of the souldiers. Cesar at the losse he received at Dirrachium cleared himself to his souldiers in this sort: Quod esset acceptum detrimenti, cuius potius quam suæ culpæ debere tribui, locum securum ad dimicandum dedisse; &c. The da-*

mage that was received was to be attributed to any body rather then him, he had chosen them a safe place of fighting, &c. And as it followeth in the seventh Commentary, being imbattelled upon the side of a hill right over against the army of the Gallés, which stood likewise in a readinesse to entertain the Romane valour, he would not suffer his men to hazard themselves in the passage of a bogge of fifty foot in breadth lying between both the armies, but rather perswaded his soldiers, disdaining the confrontment of the enemy, to endure their contumely, rather then to buy a victory with the danger of so many worthy men, and patiently to attend some further opportunity. Which passage of Cesar, even in the said terms as it is there related, was urged to good purpose by Sir Francis Vere in the year one thousand six hundred at a consultation before the battel of Newport. For the army of the Netherlanders being possesst of the Downs, which are small swelling hils rising unevenly along the seashore upon the coast of Flanders, and the enemy making a stand upon the sands at the foot of those hils, and so cutting off the passage to Ostend, it was disputed by the Commanders, whether they should leave the Downs, and go charge the enemy where he stood imbattelled upon the sands, or attend him in the fastnesse of the Downs whereof they were possesst. The whole Council of war were earnestly bent to forsake the Downs, and to hazard the fight on equall terms, as impatient that their passage and retreat to Ostend should be cut off. But Sir Francis Vere well knowing how much it imported the businesse of that day to hold a place of such gain and advantage, perswaded Count Maurice by many reasons, and specially by this

of

of Cesar, which I last alledged, not to forgo the help of the Downs, but to expect the enemy in that place, and so make use of that benefit upon the first encounter, rather then to adventure the successe of the battel in worse terms, in hope of clearing the passage: and shewing also many probable conjectures, that the enemy would not continue long in that gaze. Wherein as his opinion then prevailed, so all that were present were eye-witnesses both of the truth of his conjecture, and the soundnesse of his judgement. For the enemy within a while after coming on to charge the troops of the States, was received with such a counterbuff from the hills, and were violently beaten back in such rude manner, as our men had the execution of them for the space of a quarter of a mile or more, which was no small advantage to the fortune of that day. Touching the opportunity of time, which Pindarus calleth the Mother of worthy exploits, & oftentimes dependeth upon the circumstance of place, a General ought carefully to advise that he neither precipitate nor foreflow the occasion, which is well expressed in this particular service of Labienus. For where his purpose was to draw the enemy over a river that had steep & uneasie banks, and thereby of a hard and difficult passage, he would not shew his resolution until he had drawn them all over the river: for he was well assured that the Romane legions would so charge the enemy upon their first encounter with the unresistable weight of their pikes, that in their giving back they could not escape the danger of the river. And therefore to make the victory more absolute and compleat, he suffered them all to come over the water, that all might be endangered in their passage back again. And this is the benefit which opportunitie bringeth,

which is the rather to be attended with all carefulnesse, forasmuch as Non saepe, ac diu, eadem occasio est, a man hath neither often nor long the same opportunity.

Concerning the last circumstance, of the apt and fit disposition of the forces according to Time and Place, which is necessarily required in the dutie of a General; it is referred to this end onely, that they may be ranged in such manner, that as one man is assistant to another in their severall files and ranks, so one troop may be in subsidiis, assistant to another, to the end that no part may stand naked, or fall in the singleness of its own strength, but that one may second another from the first to the last. C. Sempronius a Romane Consul having fought unadvisedly, and received an overthrow, Julius the Tribune of the people caused Tempanius a horsman that was present at the battel to be called, and as Livie reporteth it, Coram eis, Sexte Tempani, inquit, arbitrerisne C. Sempronium Consulem, aut in tempore pugnam in- iisse, aut firmasse subsidiis aciem? he said thus before them, Sextus Tempanius, do you believe that C. Sempronius the Consul chose a good time to fight, or that he took order for assistant supplies to his army? for Livie saith, he fought incautè inconsultèque, non subsidiis firmatâ acie, non equite aptè locato, heedlessly and without good advice, neither strengthening his army with supplies, nor well placing his cavalry. And of these three circumstances consisteth the duty and office of a Generall, touching the direction of a battel; wherein whosoever faileth, doth hazard the prerogative of his command over that army which he leadeth, according to that of Cesar in the first

first of his Commentaries, Se scire, quibuscunq; exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gestâ fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto, avaritiæ esse convictum, that he knew well, whensoever an army refused to be obedient to their Commander, it was either because upon some ill successe they saw he was unfortunate, or that by the discovery of some notorious matter they found him convicted of avarice: Which Cesar himself needed not to fear, if we may believe Plutarch, who writeth, that he was indowed by nature with an excellent promptitude and aptnesse to take opportunitie in any businesse.

“ And in the next Observation he adds;

---- I will content my self with a practise of our time at the battel of Newport, where after divers retreats and pursuits, either side chasing the other, as it were by turn and mutuall appointment, and as it often falleth out in such confrontments: At last commandment was given to the English to make head again; and after some pause to charge the enemy with a shout: which being accordingly performed, a man might have seen the enemy startle before they came to the stroke; and being charged home, were so routed, that they made not head again that day.

Q. 3

The

The siege of OSTEND.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and one. The States resolving to send their army into *Flanders*, or a good part thereof, to take those forts the enemy held about *Ostend*, and by that means to open the passage into that Countrey for the greater annoyance thereof, made choice of my self, (though farre unfit and unworthy of so great a charge) to command the said forces as *Generall*. Of which intent I had first but onely an inkling given me, and was by some principall persons of the State encouraged to accept the same, and to take upon me a journey into *England* to inform her Majesty of that purpose, and, with all the necessary circumstances, to frame her liking to the enterprise, and to induce her to the yielding of the succours of three thousand bodies of her subjects to be levied, transported and paid at their own charge, and to be in the Low-countreys by the tenth of May, with these speciall instructions for the manner of the enterprise.

That for the better diversion of the enemies forces from the quarter of *Flanders*, the Count *Maurice* should with the first season of the year march towards *Bergh* upon *Rhine* and to make shew as if he would, but not to engage his forces in the siege of that town, no otherwise but that a good part thereof, especially the *English* might be sent towards *Ostend* upon the first



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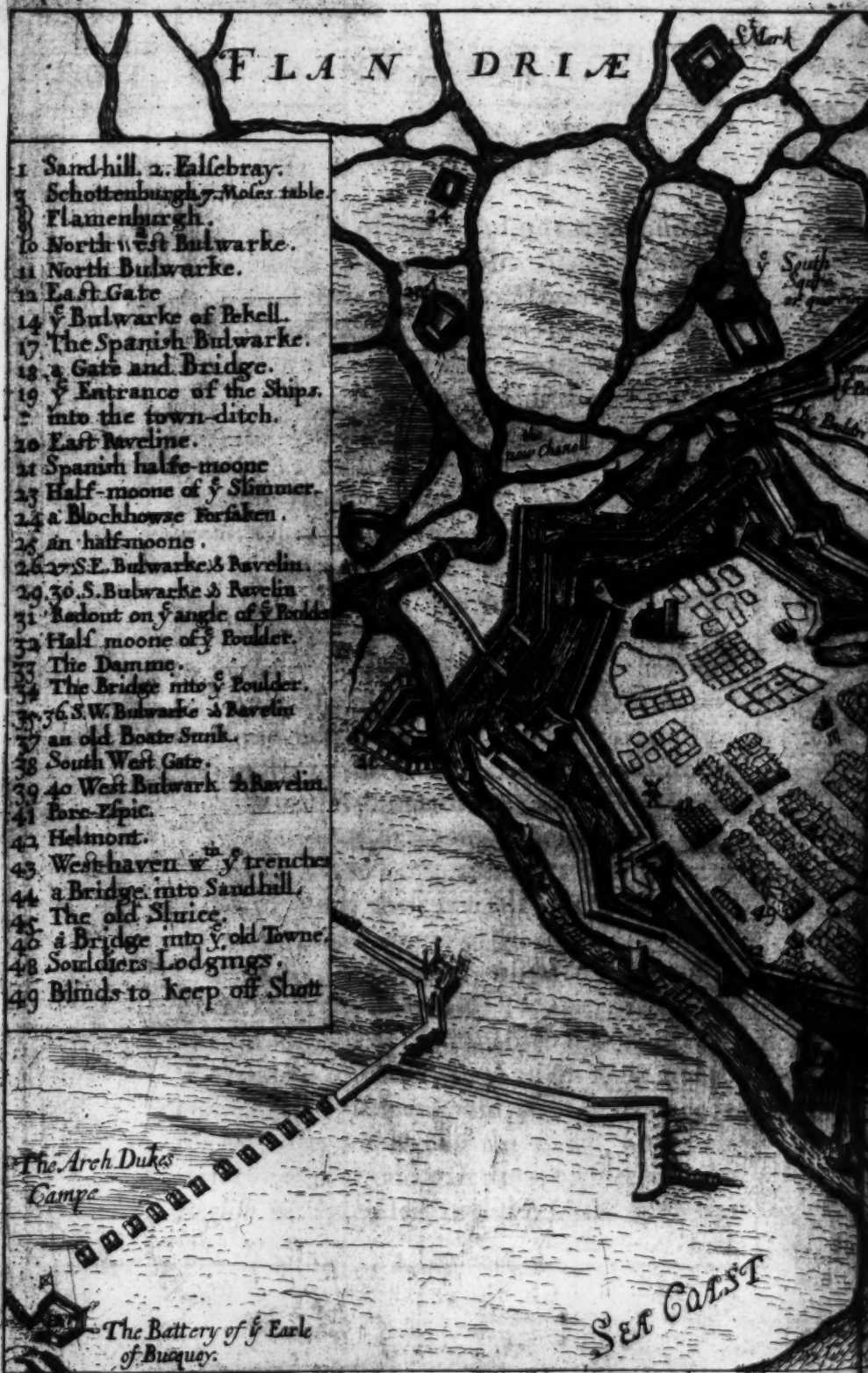
FLANDRIÆ

- 1 Sandhill. 2. Falscbray.
- 3 Schottenburgh. 7. Moles table.
- 8 Flamenburgh.
- 10 North West Bulwarke.
- 11 North Bulwarke.
- 12 East Gate.
- 14 Bulwarke of Bekeel.
- 17 The Spanish Bulwarke.
- 18 a Gate and Bridge.
- 19 Entrance of the Ships.
into the town ditch.
- 20 East Raveline.
- 21 Spanish halfe-moone
- 23 Half-moone of y^e Sluice.
- 24 a Blochhowse forsaken.
- 25 an half-moone.
- 26 27 S.E. Bulwarke & Ravelin.
- 29 30 S. Bulwarke & Ravelin.
- 31 Redout on y^e angle of y^e Boulder.
- 32 Half-moone of y^e Boulder.
- 33 The Damme.
- 34 The Bridge into y^e Boulder.
- 35 36 S.W. Bulwarke & Ravelin
- 37 an old Boate Sunk.
- 38 South West Gate.
- 39 40 West Bulwarke & Ravelin.
- 41 Fore-Isle.
- 42 Helmont.
- 43 West haven wth y^e trenches
- 44 a Bridge into Sandhill.
- 45 The old Sluice.
- 46 a Bridge into y^e old Towne.
- 48 Soldiers Lodgings.
- 49 Blinds to keep off Shott

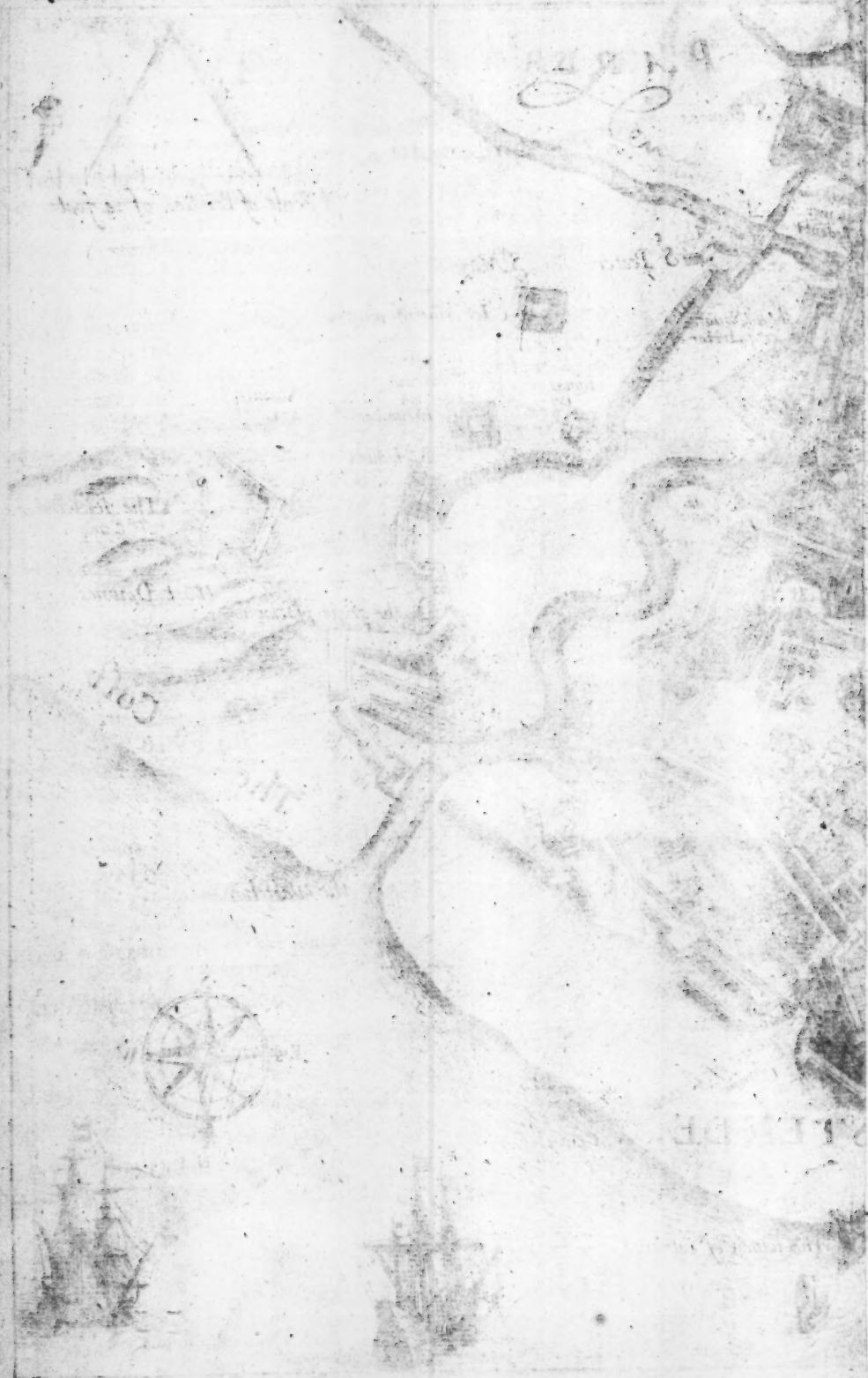
The Arch Dukes
Camp

The Battery of y^e Earle
of Buquoy.

SEA COAST







first summons. Which together with two thousand souldiers to be levied out of the Garrisons of *Holland* and *Zeland*, and the three thousand they made account of out of *England*, should on a sudden be transported into *Flanders* for the said enterprize.

With this errand I passed into *England*, delivered the whole plot to her Majesty, who liked and allowed thereof, and with some difficulty (as her manner was) granted the men to be levied and transported in ten dayes warning, for so the *States* desired, lest the overtinely stirring of them before their other troops were landed in *Flanders*, might give the enemy an alarm, to the difficulting of the enterprize; willing me (the grant obtained) to hasten over.

Before my coming into the Low-countries, the Count *Maurice* was marched towards *Bergh*, & the enemy, that had long threatened to besiege *Ostend*, with a good part of his forces was set down before that town, so that it was now question rather of defending then of gaining more footing in that quarter. The *States* therefore dealt with me to take upon me the charge of the place, for which they gave me Commission, not as Governour, but as *Generall* of the army employed in and about *Ostend*, with very ample power, as aforesaid, whereof I accepted. And they forthwith gave order to the Count *Maurice*, to send into *Holland* the twenty *English* companies he then had in the army; with which troop I was to go into *Ostend*. At

At the first he made some difficulty to send any, having engaged himself in the siege of *Bergh*, his works for the defence of the quarter not finished, and the enemy gathering head in *Brabant* to succour and relieve that town; in the end with importunity he sent eight companies, with which my brother came. With these, being by the *States* put in good hope, the rest should follow, and that I should be liberally supplied with forces, ammunition, and all necessaries for such a service; I went into the town, and landed (as I take it) the eleventh of July one thousand six hundred and one, on the sands against the middle of the old town. The enemy commanded the haven, so as there was no entring by it, and then the use of the *Genle* was not known, and this place I landed at was to be subject to their Ordnance; and the seege of the sea such, that no shipping could lie there unbroken.

At my landing Monsieur *Vandernood* Governour gave me the keyes. In the town I found about thirty companies of *Netherlanders*, which made sixteen or seventeen hundred newly divided into two Regiments, whereof Monsieur *Vandernood* had the one, and Monsieur de *Utenburgh* had the other, and my eight companies might make eight hundred men.

The enemy had thirty pieces of Cannon placed on the West-side, the most within a harquebuse-shot of the town; and six on the East-side,

East-side, with which they shot much into the town, and did great harm to the buildings and men. Their army judged at twelve thousand men. The three parts on the West-side quartered near *Albertus*, a great Cannon shot from the town, commanded by the Archduke himself. The other part upon the top of the Downs on the East-side next the *Geule*.

Those of the town before my entrance had made a sally on the West-approaches, from which they were repulsed with the losse of three hundred men slain and hurt. The town to the land was well flanked and high rampierd, but with a sandy and mouldred earth. The old town (supposed free from battery) was rather strong against sudden attempts by Palisadoes and such helps, then by rampier and flanks, to abide the fury of the Ordnance, and force of approach; which notwithstanding was held the strongest part of the town; as well for the reasons above-said, as for that it was hemmed in on the one side with the *Geule* not passable, and on the other with the haven, which was passable onely some four hours in a tide. The rest of the town besides the ditch (which was broad and deep) of water, was environed with a royall counterescarp, with ravelines of good capacity and defence against the Cannon, covering all the bulwarks of all the town, but that, which they called the *Peckell* or East-bulwark, which needed not that help, as lying directly upon the *Geule* and not to be assailed by any approach.

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Upon the South, South-east and South-west of the town there is a plot of ground in the manner of an Island, environed on the East-side with the *Geule*, to the Southward with a chanel that runneth into the *Geule* from the said *Geule* directly Westward into the river, that in former times passed through the old haven, and now had his course in the furthest place from the town, not in distance above a harquebuse-shot, to the Westward by the old chanel of the said river, by which it passed into the haven, which was now separated from the ditch of the counter-scarp by a low dam near the *Poulder-bulwark*.

This plot of ground (covering the town from the said bulwark to the *Spanish-bulwark* which lieth upon the *Geule*) had upon the South-west angle (which is where the chanel from the *Geule* mingleth with that of the river to the haven) a little redoubt open behinde, and of no force to resist the Cannon. To the Southward of this *Poulder-bulwark* the country is broken with many creeks, not passable nor habitable for an army but by forced means, in spring-tides for the most part overflown; on the West-side the ground for a harquebuse-shot from the river that runneth due West from the said *Poulder* lay low, and subject to the like overflowing at the spring-tides; but all the waters more passable having fewer and shallower creeks. From this bottom the ground towards the Downs goeth higher. Betwixt these West-Downs, which near the town are more low and levell then the East,
and

and the *Parceffie* (which is a raveline in the counterscarp that closeth the new town on that side by which the old haven passeth into the town) there lyeth a Down on which the haven beatech on the one side, and the water of the ditch of the counterscarp on the other, being the onely place about that town by which an approach might be made on firm ground to the wall of the town, and therefore was held the most weak and dangerous place. But the cutting of the foresaid Damme and letting the sea-water into the ditch of the counterscarp was held a sure and sufficient means to prevent the enemy on that side, so as indeed nothing was so much to be doubted as the enemies passing into this piece of ground before mentioned, called the *Poulder*: by which means he might, notwithstanding our best endeavour, in short time drain the ditches of the counterscarp, and the town-ditch, and so make his way to the rampier.

My first care therefore was to fortifie and secure the said *Poulder* against the enemy, and to make a safe place for our shipping to unlade such provisions and commodities as from time to time should be brought unto us: which I readily and easily performed by opening a passage in the counterscarp near the West-*Poulder* of the Spanish raveline, by which means the water from the *Genle* flowed into the town-ditch, in which, with their masts stricken down, I have often seen above one hundred vessels lie safe from the annoyance of

the enemies great shot: which haven through the entry grew more dangerous by the enemies approaches, which in processe of time they with much cost, labour, and art advanced; for it lay within the high water-mark, (on which they raised new batteries) and was used during the siege as the better in-let. Albeit after to avoid the great harm the enemy did to our shipping at their going out, I made another cut betwixt the East-raveline and the mount called the *Moses-table*, looking Northward and directly into the sea, which served the turn and saved many ships.

When my twelve companies, which I expected from *Bergh*, were arrived, I began one night to entrench a piece of ground higher and firmer then the rest about it, lying nearer to the low *Damme* before mentioned, which separated the river that by the old chanel had passed into the haven from the ditch of the counter-scarp: which piece of ground (stretched out in the form of a Geometrical oblique or oblong) towards the West had a watered ditch, such as in those parts they use for inclosures, and the whole plot of continent sufficient to receive eight or nine hundred men.

This field I entrenched taking the water-ditch to advantage, without giving it any other form usuall in fortifications (so, as for the form and feat it was called the *West-square*) because the Westermost face of it was well flanked from the West-bulwark, and the West-raveline; and the face South-west from the an-

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gle of the *Poulder*, where the chanel of the *Geule* and the chanel of the old haven meet, but chiefly to hold as much room as I could. For I expecting large numbers of men, doubted more I should want means in that town hemmed in with so many waters and ditches, to fall and use them abroad as occasion should require (for which purpose this place served fitly) then bodies to guard that which I intrenched. The morning after I had begun this work, the enemy turned diverse pieces from the top of the Downs upon it; which, notwithstanding my best industry, did much hurt amongst my men, till the work was raised and thickened.

This plot put in reasonable defence and part of the supplies of the men granted by her Majestie now arrived, I began to cast up a redoubt upon the like piece of ground for firmnesse, but not fully half so big as the former, lying about half a harquebuse-shot South-west from the angle of the *Poulder* close to the river that passeth from the said angle Westward, which served well to covert the *Poulder* on that side, and to flank the West-face and South-flank of the *West-square*.

The *Poulder* thus assured from sudden attempts, I began to raise in the said *Poulder* a rampier to resist the Cannon on the inside of the old chanel from the ditch of the *Poulder*-ravelin of the counterscarp to the angle aforesaid of the *Poulder*, which broad-ways lay due West, and end-ways North and South, and the

redoubt upon the said angle I raised of a good height, & Cannon-proof, in the form of a Gallier to command over the said rampier of the *Poulder*. All this while the enemy lying still without making any approaches or intrenchments, or attempting to hinder my works otherwise then by his Cannon-shot, of which he was no niggard.

Having, as I supposed, in this manner well provided for the safe defence of that quarter, I was desirous to draw some of the enemies from the sand-hills to dwell by us in that low watery ground to the South-west and South of the river that runneth from the West to the *Poulder*, which I knew would cause great expence, great labour, and much losse and consumption of men, on which, besides the plots of ground I had taken, no trench, nor approach, nor lodging could be had, but such as was forced; onely about a harquebuse-shot Westward from my redoubt on that side, and upon the same river was a pretty round height of ground on which sometimes they of the town of *Ostend* had held a redoubt to the South-west & South, environed with a plashie moor, into which by the creeks the water flowed, so as the greatest part of the tide it was not passable. From this plot of ground I could discover the back of their approaches on the Downs, and from it with Cannon could annoy them as well there, as in their shipping and boats, by which their army was supplied from *Bruges* and other ports of the countrey.

If they suffered me to take this height and fortifie it, I had gotten two speciall advantages, the annoying of them, and the securing of my works on that side, which after I might have maintained with fewer men; if I were impeached by their sudden planting of Ordnance and batteries, I knew they would possesse the ground and piece-meal engage themselves more and more in those drownd lands, which was the other of my drifts.

This piece of ground to move and provoke them the more, upon St. Jacques day (being the Saint the Spaniards as their Parrone do most superstitiously reverence) in the forenoone I first sent as it were to view and discover, and anon after I sent for men and set them on work and drew down in a readinesse under the favour of my outermost redoubt, two hundred souldiers to make head, if the enemy came down to the other side of the river to hinder my workmen with his shot.

The enemy no sooner perceived my men to work, but he turned certain pieces of Ordnance upon them from the Downs, and shot at us, as did also those of the fort of Grootendorst. But being farre of, the plot small and the men observing the shot, bowing their bodies in the hollownesse of the old trench, did little harm.

Their foot-men in a great rage, as it seemed to me, of themselves kindled with zeal without direction or order from their Chiefs, came down towards the river side again; not arm-

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ed men in battel and troops, but shot scatteringly at every one could first and readiliest take his furniture, others with faggots in their hands, (whereof they had store in their approaches) began here and there in confused manner to raise a trench from the Downs to the river, (for other trench and covert they had none) so as they were a fair marke for our artillery from the town, and our muskettiers from the West-square, and the South-west redoubt, which spared no powder. Besides, the two hundred muskettiers I had placed with me under the favour of small banks on the edge of the river, held them back when they came nearer hand, so as after much shooting and hurt done (the most of the day being spent) they gave over molesting us. And that night I put the place into so good defence against the attempts of handy strokes, that I left a guard in it, and workmen to add more strength to it.

In the morning betimes the enemy began to batter it with two Cannons, which the same night they had planted on a little height of ground on the other side of the plash directly West, and about the fourth part of the way to their fort called *Grootendorst*, from whence they also shot with a couple of demiculvering, and thus they continued the whole day, inso much as our new work to them-ward was laid flat, and our men forced for safeguard to make hollow trenches in the said redoubt. About an hour before sun-set troops were seen

to march from *Albertus* towards *Grootendyft*, which I gathered was to make an attempt upon the said redoubt in the beginning of the evening before the breach could be repaired, for which purpose the water being ebb'd the time served very fitly. *grootendyft* I saw, by their earnest proceeding that there was no striving to keep and maintain that plot, and therefore resolv'd to give way, but so as I would seem to be forced from the place. And therefore as I did set men on work in the beginning of the evening to repair the breach to have confirm'd the enemy (if he had forborn his attempt that night) in the opinion that I would maintain the place: so I gave order to the Officer I left in it with some eighty men to hold good watch on the side of the plash, if the enemy attempted to passe, to shew himself on the brink of the said plash with his shot, and discharge upon them, leaving his pikes by the fort, with order if they advanced to make his retreat to the South-west redoubt, and there to hold good. Which directions were not well observed, for the Officer forthwith when he had sight of the enemies approach, (which was about two houres within night) leaving his pikes in the redoubt, he with the shot made for the plash side, and discharged at the enemy, who being strong in number and resolv'd, continued their way, the Officer still retiring hard to the redoubt and skirmishing with him, as if his purpose had been rather to have drawn the enemy in-

to some danger, then to save himself and his troop by a timely retreat. Which is an error that many in like cases fall into, to their utter destruction, when fear to have their valour called in question, maketh them against all reason fight against a stronger enemy, and engage themselves, where they have neither purpose nor hope to obtain the victory.

Those of the redoubt staid the return of their men, whom the enemy pursued so hard, after he had gotten footing in the firm ground, that they both at an instant came to the redoubt, and by the way of the breach (which yet lay open) entred and overthrew soon our men, who so taken at unawares, thought it safer to fight then to run away: others they overtook before they could get over the Palisadoes on the other side of the redoubt, so as most of our pike-men were lost, but few or none of the shot, who holpen with the darknesse of the night and their good diligence escaped.

Upon the alarm having given order for some troops to follow, I hasted to the Southwest redoubt, near which I met with these scattered men, which I stayed and took with me into the said redoubt, to which the enemy even now approached following their fortune, and hoping of like successe, and on the other side of the river toward the Northward from under the favour of the bank, to which of purpose they had also drawn muskettiers to flank and beat in the back our men, as they should shew themselves to resist the attempt
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of their men on the other side of the water, so as of the supplies that came from the town, I re-inforced the guard of the said redoubt, by which means as also the difficulty they found in passing their grosse over the creeks, with some losse to us, yet much more to them, they retired to the redoubt they had gotten.

A Continuation of the siege of
OSTEND.

“**H**ERE endeth, or rather, here breakes off Sir Francis Vere his Commentary, for he continued in his government of Ostend for many moneths after; but whether it was because he thought it needlesse to give the world any further account of it, who were all by this time become, as it were, *spectatours* & eie-witnesses of what he did, or whether he thought that it being so well known to many, some other would carry on the relation, if the world should think it needfull, or what ever else the reason was, I do not finde that his pen ever went any further: yet because there were many things afterwards performed by him worthy of observation, and because the Reader may perhaps have a Curiosity to see the end of the story, I shall here presume to subjoyn a brief account of the chief passages in the sequel of that action, according to what I have met with recorded by others to my hand, that so we may bring off Sir Francis

“ Vere with honour from so great an engage-
 “ ment, and deliver him safe from the exceed-
 “ ing hazzard of that employment; and this
 “ the rather, because I think this was the last
 “ action of consequence wherein he was im-
 “ barqued.

“ Generall Vere had no sooner taken a sure
 “ footing to himself, & fitted the scene where-
 “ on the bloody tragedy was afterwards to be
 “ acted, but he gave a pledge of his resolution
 “ to abide by it; refusing to quit his lodg-
 “ ings, notwithstanding that the enemies Can-
 “ non had pierced them through with many a
 “ shot, and quite battered down a little tower
 “ belonging to them. But though his enemies
 “ Cannon could not enforce him to abandon
 “ so much as his own lodging, yet did his own
 “ by shittwd mishap constrain him to with-
 “ draw himself for a time out of the town; for
 “ on the fourteenth of August being wounded
 “ in the head with the blow of a Cannon that
 “ spilt in the discharging, he removed into
 “ Zeland to be cured of his hurt. The enemy
 “ having gotten intelligence hereof made no
 “ small expressions of joy and triumph, dis-
 “ charging many a peal of Cannon, whereby
 “ if they hoped to fill the hearts of the besieged
 “ with terrour and consternation and to beat
 “ them from their former resolution, they were
 “ very much mistaken; for the brave English
 “ souldiers observing what storms of great
 “ shot came daily rolling into the town (the
 “ besiegers having already discharged little
 “ lesse

"lesse then thirty five thousand Cannon-shot
 "against it) and perceiving by the story, that
 "all the houses were like ere long to be beat-
 "on about their ears, and so were likelier to
 "endanger them by their fall, then any way to
 "secure and protect them from the fury of the
 "enemies artillery, they advised themselves to
 "take this course. There was a green plot of
 "ground in the town commonly used for the
 "market-place, which was something higher
 "then the rest of the streets; here did they earth
 "themselves digging it hollow, and fitting
 "themselves with cabbins and lodgings with-
 "in the ground. The like did they by another
 "void piece of ground upon the South-West;
 "whereby as they thought themselves secure
 "from the enemies battery (being confident
 "they would not shoot mattocks and pick-
 "axes) so did they sufficiently testifie their
 "own resolution rather to interre themselves
 "in the graves which they had digged, then to
 "quit their possession of the place unto the
 "enemy.

"Herenpon the besiegers shifted sailes
 "and suiting their counsels to the disposition
 "of the *English* souldiers, who are sooner won
 "by fair means then by foul, shot arrows with
 "letters into the *English* quarters, promising
 "ten stivers a day to such as would serve the
 "*Archduke* against the town, but these offers
 "were slighted by the *English*, who hated fals-
 "nesse as much as they contemned danger, &
 "this devise was looked upon by those of the

“town as the product of languishing counsels,
 “which having already spent all their powder
 “came a begging for the conclusion.

“And, if the *Archduke* had then given over
 “the siege, I question not but the world would
 “generally have excused him: for what should
 “he do? he had made his approaches as near
 “unto *Sand-hill*, as was possible for the haven;
 “which was the most probable place of doing
 “any good upon the town, and therefore he
 “had ever since the beginning of the siege bent
 “the most of his great shot upon it, if it were
 “possible to have made a breach, but all had
 “hitherto produced no other effect then the
 “fortifying of the *Sand-hill*-bulwark in stead
 “of beating it down; for by this time it was
 “so thick stuck with bullets; that the Ord-
 “nance could scarcely shoot without a tauto-
 “logic and hitting its former bullets, which
 “like an iron wall made the later fly in pieces
 “up into the air: Yea, the bullets in it were
 “so many, that they left not room to drive in
 “Palisadoes, though pointed with iron, and
 “some there were that would have undertaken
 “to make the bulwark new, if they might
 “have had the bullets for their pains. Besides
 “when ever they meant to assault it, they must
 “resolve to force seven Palisadoes made of
 “great piles within the haven, before they
 “could come to the foot of the bulwark,
 “and if they were not intercepted by the
 “springing of a mine or two, yet was the bul-
 “wark it self unmountable by armed men;
 and

“and they might easily have been conceived to
 “have gotten intelligence that there were thir-
 “teen Cannon in the counterscarp and other
 “convenient places charged with chained shot
 “and rusty Iron to scowre *Sand-hill*; if need
 “should require. Besides all this, all was to
 “be done at a running-pull, for when the co-
 “ming in of the tide should sound a retreat,
 “off they must or be utterly lost; and they ea-
 “sily saw that the muskettiers in the half-
 “moon of the counterscarp were like to give
 “them such a welcome, as would make ma-
 “ny of them forget to return again unto the
 “camp. *Notwithstanding all these great difficul-*
 “ties, no advice of the old Captains could pre-
 “vail against the obstinacy of the States of
 “*Flanders*, who to keep life in the siege, spared
 “not to undertake the payment of a million
 “of crowns to the *Archduke*; rather then he
 “should draw off from the town. So that he
 “took up a resolution not to stirre; and (as
 “his fugitives reported) once he swore, that he
 “would not rise from the table at which he
 “sat, before they of the town were made to
 “serve him; but then they on the other side laid
 “a wager they would give it him so hot, that it
 “should burn his fingers.
 “Not long after the Lord of *Chastillon* met
 “with an unhappy mischance; for, being up-
 “on the high bulwark of *Sand-hill* with Colo-
 “nel *Utenbruch* and other Gentlemen, and men
 “of Command, he had his head struck off
 with

"with a Cannon-shot above the teeth, and
 "his brains dash't upon the Colonels left
 "check. Which possibly might receive its di-
 "rection from the self same hand that did
 "more then once during this siege shoot a
 "bullet into the mouth of a charged Cannon,
 "which because it would not be too long in-
 "debted for such a courtesie, taking fire with
 "the blow, returned the bullet instantly back
 "again attended with another of its own. As
 "good a marks-man was he (if he did it of
 "designe) who, when a souldier of the town
 "having bought a loaf of bread was holding
 "it up in a boasting way, with a shot took
 "away the uppermost half, leaving the other
 "in the souldiers hand; who finding that he
 "had received no hurt, said it was a fair con-
 "ditioned bullet, for it had left him the better
 "half behinde; however, I believe he would
 "rather have been contented with the lesser
 "half, then run the hazzard of dividing again.
 "On the nineteenth of September Generall
 "Here being cured of his hurt returned from
 "Zeland into the town, where he found two
 "thousand English, and twenty ensignes of
 "French, Walloons, Scotch and Friscons, that had
 "arrived in his absence. Soon after his arri-
 "vall he took care for the thickning and
 "strengthening of divers of the works, and
 "uniting of those outworks on the South and
 "West, the better thereby to secure their re-
 "lief and preserve them from the injury of the
 "waters in the winter season. Which, the ene-
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" my perceiving, and that the town grew dai-
 " ly stronger and stronger, resolved to at-
 " tempt it by treachery, taking the old verse
 " for their warrant, *dolus an virtus quis in hoste*
 " *requirat*? To that purpose an English man
 " named N. Conisby (as the French diary re-
 " lates) who had served them long in the qua-
 " lity of a Captain of foot in their army, re-
 " turned through France into England, where
 " he prevailed so much by means of his
 " friends, that he obtained letters of recom-
 " mendation to Sir Francis Vere, unto whom
 " presenting himself he desired to be admit-
 " ted one of his Company, which the Gene-
 " rall could not refuse, he being a Gentle-
 " man and so effectually recommended.

" This traitor having thus served himself into
 " Ostend, quickly began his practise, for he recei-
 " ved letters and other things weekly from the
 " enemy, giving them intelligence of all that
 " passed within the town, & of the best means
 " to annoy it; managing his practises and pro-
 " jects according to the instructions which he
 " received from them. For the better convey-
 " ance of his letters to the enemy, he carried
 " the into a broken boat (which in the begin-
 " ning of the siege had been sunk by the ene-
 " my, and lay upon the dry ground betwixt the
 " town and the camp) under the colour of gra-
 " tifying nature, and there disposed them in a
 " place appointed, whence the enemy fetched
 " them by night with the help of a little boat,
 " and upon certain dayes brought him an-

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swers,

“swore, and sometimes monie for his reward,
 “which he failed not to fetch at the place ap-
 “pointed. When he was discovered, he had
 “drawn four men into his conspiracy, among
 “others a Serjeant who was the means of re-
 “vealing it. This Serjeant coming out of pri-
 “son (where his Captain had caused him to be
 “laid some dayes in irons) being all male-
 “content chanced to meet with *Conisby*, who
 “told him he was glad to see him out of pri-
 “son, withall asking him the reason of his so
 “great and grievous punishment, to whom
 “the Serjeant (railing upon his Captain) swore
 “earnestly that he would be revenged for the
 “wrong he had received, though it cost him
 “his life. *Conisby*, supposing he had found a
 “man fit for his purpose, told him he might
 “easily finde the means to be revenged, with-
 “out losing his life, and with his own profit
 “and advancement, and that if he would fol-
 “low his counsel he should want no monie.
 “The Serjeant began to listen to his words,
 “and seemed inclinable enough to so advan-
 “tageous a designe, and ready to follow his
 “advice. Whereupon *Conisby* (having first
 “made him swear secrecy) discovered himself
 “to him, and presently asked him if he had the
 “resolution to set fire on one of the Maga-
 “zines, for which purpose himself had pre-
 “pared a certain invention of powder, lead, &
 “match; this the Serjeant undertook to per-
 “form, which he said could not be difficult for
 “him to do, being often sent to fetch powder
 for

“ for the souldiers. *Conisby* assured him that he
 “ had practised more associates, and that when
 “ he should have made the number up twenty,
 “ he would then put the designe in execution,
 “ which was, that one of the Magazines be-
 “ ing set on fire, he would so work it as to have
 “ the guard of a sluice in a bulwark near the
 “ enemy, who should then give on and be ad-
 “ mitted into the town. The Serjeant seemed
 “ to hug the device, demanding onely of *Co-*
 “ *nisby* some assurance under his hand that he
 “ should have his recompence, when the
 “ work should be performed; which having
 “ once obtained, away he goes to the Generall,
 “ and discovers the practise to him, whereup-
 “ on *Conisby* being apprehended, and put to
 “ the rack, confessed all, and that he came to
 “ *Ostend* with that purpose and intent, as also
 “ what instructions and promises he had re-
 “ ceived, and what complices he had made;
 “ who were likewise apprehended and put in
 “ prison. This plot failing, the enemies onely
 “ hope of taking the town was by stopping
 “ up the haven, and so hindring the coming in
 “ of supplies; to this purpose, the old haven on
 “ the West of the town having been made dan-
 “ gerous and uselesse, and the defendants con-
 “ strained to make a new one out of the *Geule*
 “ on the East-side, the enemy had now so
 “ streightened this also by their float of great
 “ planks bearing Ordnance on the *Geule*, that
 “ they of the town were fain to make a second
 “ new haven against the midst of the old town;

“ by which means the enemies designs were
“ eluded, and the ships of supplies admitted
“ into the town at pleasure.

“ This dangerous thrust being so handsom-
“ ly put by, the enemy had no other play left
“ him but to storm, which he resolved upon,
“ and prepared himself accordingly. But in
“ the mean while it will not be amisse to take
“ notice of a passage which happoned in the
“ town. A French Gentleman disobeying his
“ Serjeant, and thereupon causing a great tu-
“ mult, was committed to prison, and eight
“ dayes after, condemned by a Council of War
“ to be shot to death; but because he was de-
“ scended of a good House, all the *French* Ca-
“ ptains interposed their earnest intreaties to
“ Generall Vere, and begged his life, which was
“ granted, upon condition that he should ask
“ the Serjeant forgiveness; this when he
“ could not by any means, or perswasion be
“ brought unto, he had eight dayes respit
“ granted him to resolve himself; which being
“ past, and he continuing still as obstinate as
“ ever, he was brought forth unto the place
“ of execution, and tied to a stake; but when
“ once he saw the Harquebusiers ready to dis-
“ charge, he began to be apprehensive of the
“ horror of death, intreating that he might be
“ unbound, and promising to perform the sen-
“ tence, & ask the Serjeant forgiveness; which
“ he forthwith did, and thereupon was releaf-
“ ed. So much easier is it for pride and rash-
“ nesse to commit a fault, then heartily to ac-
“ know-

“knowledge it. A truer courage was that of
 “another in the town during the siege. An
 “English Gentleman of about three & twen-
 “ty years of age, in a fally forth had one of his
 “arms shot off with a Cannon, which taking
 “up he brought back with him into the
 “town unto the Chirurgion, and coming in-
 “to his lodging shewed it, saying, *Behold the*
 “*arm which but at dinner did help its fellow.* This
 “he did and endured without the least faint-
 “ing, or so much as reposing upon his bed.

“Not long after on the fourth of December
 “early in the morning; the besiegers gave a
 “fierce and sharp assault upon the English
 “trenches; which take in the words of one
 “present at it.

S*r FRANCIS VERE* having been a-
 broad the most part of that night, was laid down
 to take his rest; but hearing the alarm that the English
 trenches were assaulted, and knowing of how great im-
 port that work was for the defence of the town, pulling
 on his stockings, with his sword in his hand, he ran in
 all haste unbraced with some souldiers and Captain
 Couldwell, and my self into the work; where he
 found his own company at push of pike upon a turn-
 pike with the enemy, (who crying in French, En-
 trez, entrez, avancez, avancez, strove to enter
 that way, and sought to over-turn the turn-pike with
 their pikes) and some of his Gentlemen, among the
 rest Lieutenant-Colonel Proud (who was afterwards
 slain at Maestricht) slashing off the heads of their
 pikes, which he took notice of, and shortly after made

him a Lieutenant. The enemy being repulsed and beaten off, Sir Francis Vere (to the end our men might give fire the better upon them from the town, and bulwarks which flanked this work, both with our Ordnance and small shot) commanded the souldiers to take some straw from the huts within the work, and making wisps of it, to set it on fire upon the parapet of the work, and upon the heads of their pikes, by which light the enemies were discovered, so that our men gave fire bravely upon them from the town and the work, and shot into their battalions, which had fallen on, and their men that were carrying off their dead; so that upon this attempt the enemy lost a matter of five hundred men, which lay under our work, and between their trenches. The enemy being retreated into his works, Sir Francis Vere called me to him, and said, Boy, come now pull up my stockins, and tie my points; and so returned home again to his rest.

“The next remarkable in the series of this
 “famous siege was that memorable Treatie,
 “which Generall Vere intertained with the
 “Archduke; which I know none better able to
 “give an account of; then Sir John Ogle, who
 “had much at stake in the businesse, and was
 “well acquainted with the severall passages
 “thereof: of which he hath left behinde him
 “this following account.

Sir

Sir Francis Vere, his parlie at Ostend,
written by Sir John Ogle
there present.

AFTER the battell of Newport, the Archduke Albert desirous to clear Flanders, in the year following sate down with his army before Ostend, unto which the Lords the States sent Sir Francis Vere, their Generall to defend it. He having good numbers of men, though it most servicable for the States to employ them so, as he might keep the enemy at arms-end, and a fair distance from the town. To this purpose he possessed himself of severall advantageous pieces of ground, fortifying upon them so well as the time would give him leave; but they were morsels as well for the enemies tooth as his, and therefore cost both bickering and blood on both sides, till at the last, (what with numbers, artillery, and better commodity of accesse) he was forced to quit the most of them, and that ere he brought them to any perfection of strength, whereby to make any resistance.

Such as were nearest the town, and under the succour of his own power, (as the three Quartiers (or squares) with some few others) he kept and maintained as long as he stayed there; yet when by protract of time, and casualties of war, he found his numbers wasted, and himself (the enemy creeping upon him) so streightned as he was thrust meerly upon the defence, he saw he was not in his proper element, nor indeed was he: for the truth is, his vertues (being great, strong, and active) required more elbow-room, having their best lustre, where they had the largest
foil

foil to set them off. The works of Battel, Invasion, and the like, were the proper objects of his spirit. The limits of Ostend were much too narrow for him, yet did he there many things worth the observation and reputation of so great a Captain as he was. Amongst the rest, that of his Parley was of most eminent note; and as most noted, so most and worst censured; and that as well by sword as gown-men; yea, his judgement (which even by his enemies hath often been confessed to be one of the most able that ever our Nation delivered to the world in matters of his profession) was in this action taxed (and that in print too) for his manner of carriage in this businesse.

Now because I was in some sort the onely instrument he used in the manning thereof, and best acquainted with all passages, I have (for the love I owe to truth, and his memory) thought good to set down in writing, what I have heretofore delivered (by their commandments) to the Lords the States-Generall in their Council-chamber, as also sometime after that to the Prince Maurice of Nassau and the Earl William his cosen, concerning this matter.

Yet ere I come to the relation, it shall not be amisse to wipe away two main aspersions which I have often met withall by way of objection, and are as well in every mans mouth as in Emmanuel of Metteren his book.

The first (and that is the word) it lucked well, judging the fact by the event, but reservedly condemning the purpose, for had not the shipping come (say they) as it did, what would have become of the town, he would have given it up. Colonel Utenhoven a man of note, and yet living, one of their own Nation, a Go-

vernour

vernour of a Town, knows better, and the following Treatise shall also make it appear otherwise, and that he had not the least thought of rendring the town, though succour had not come to him at all; this point therefore shall here need no further enlargement.

The second is, That he might have carried the matter otherwise, and have drawn lesse jealousy upon himself, by acquainting the Captains with it sooner, considering it was done without the privy of the Lords the States, nor was it fitting to bring an enemy through such secret passages.

This at the first view seems to say somewhat, as borrowing strength from the common proceedings in other ordinary Governours, who, upon the point as well of Parley as Article, ere they enter into either with an enemy, consult first (as it is fit) with the Captains of the Garrisons, and this (it seems) was likewise expected here; But upon what reasons? was he such a Governour? he was a Generall; he had Governours under him. Did he intend (as commonly others do) to deliver the Town? he meant nothing lesse, as is partly before, and shall be hereafter largely proved. What account did the States ever require of him? What disgrace was there given him more then a free acknowledgement of his singular carriage and judgement in the manning of a business of so great importance?

True it is, there was at first a kinde of staggering amongst the best, which the mist of some partiall information from some malevolent person in Ostend had brought them to; but this was soon cleared, first by his own letters in brief, and after by me more at large, if not to the most of them, yet I dare say to the most discreet, and judicious amongst them.

But let us now see whether it had been either necessary or convenient that the secret of this stratageme should have been revealed sooner, either to the Lords the States, or Captains of the Garrison. To me it seems, that it had been to the States preposterous, to the Captains dangerous, nay more, repugnant to sense and common reason, and that for these reasons following.

The project it self was but an Embryo, and had been a meer abortive, had he delivered himself of it before the attempt of the enemy: for from thence it must receive both form and being, now that was uncertain and unknown unto him; especially the time; he could therefore have no certain, besitting subject to write to the Lords the States of this matter, till the deed were done, and the project put in practise; which so soon as it was, he presently dispatched a messenger, giving them a due account of the cause of his proceedings, and that to their contentment.

It was a stratageme whose power and vertue consisted wholly in secrecie; it was also a thread, whereon hung no lesse then the States Town, his own honour, and the lives of all them that were with him, & therefore in reason did not admit the least communication: for the best pledge you can have of a mans secrecie, is not to open your thoughts unto him.

Lastly, if he would have forgot himself so much as to have committed a secret to the trust of many, could he yet promise himself that he should not meet with opposition? would they instantly have been all of his minde? would no man suspect the handling? Why did they then after? and that when it was consummated and finished. I have heard Colonel Utenhoven say,
That

That if the Generall should have made the proposition, he had broken the enterprize; and he knew best the Captains inclinations, for he was the mouth betwixt the Generall and them, to clear those jealousies he saw them apprehend in him. It was therefore the safest and best way that could be taken, to set this businessse abroad rather without their knowledge, then flatly against it, and to hazard the interpretation of the action, rather then the action it self.

Besides, who ever yet knew the Generall Vere so simple or so weak, as to avoid military forms, where they were necessary or expedient? Wanted he judgement? his enemies will not say it. Had he not will? he had too many of them too great to lay open himself to their malice; he was a better mannager of his reputation, then to give them so palpable, so grosse an advantage to build their scandal on. It was the publick service and his own judgement that led him into this course, wherein if there were any danger for his part, it lay on my head, which he ventured for the safetie of all.

It seems then that as it was not necessary, so had it been exceedingly inconvenient, that the book of this secret should have been sooner unclasp'd, before it was set on foot, or to the Lords the States, before it was accomplished.

I come now to the relation, leaving the branch in the objection, touching the bringing in of the enemy, as not worthy to receive an answer. About the twelfth of November it began to freeze exceedingly, the wind being North-west, where it remained till Christmasse or after, blowing for the most a stiff gale, often high and stormy: in this time no shipping came unto us, or succours out of Holland or Zeland, nor could they

for the wind; nor had we any for some few weeks after. Our men, munition, and materials wasted daily, the sea and our enemy grew both upon us.

At the spring-tide we looked still when that would decide the question touching the town betwixt us and our adversaries, so exceeding high it was, and swelling through the continuance of the North-west wind, which beat flat upon us, and brought extraordinary store of waters from the Ocean into those narrow parts. Hands we could set very few to work, our places of guard were so many, our numbers so small, and those over-watched. Two thousand and an hundred men was our strength, the convenient competency for the town was at least four thousand: for workmen our need was more then ever; for the whole town with the new forts therein lately begun by the Generall (who fore-saw the storm) lay more then half-open, in-somuch that in divers places with little labour both horse and foot might enter. The North-west raveline (our Champion against the sea) was almost worn away. The Porcupine (or Porc-espice) not well defensible. At all these places could the enemy come to push of pike with us, when they list, at low water.

This was our condition, neither was the enemy ignorant thereof, nor unmindfull to lay hold on his advantage, preparing all things from all parts fitting for the advancement of his purpose; that was to assault the town. Our Generall saw their provision and power, and his own weaknesse, but could prevent none of them otherwise then by practice, his industry slept not, his vigilancy appeared by his daily and nightly rounds he made about the town and works, his courage was the highest, when his forces lowest; for even then he manifestedly

festly made it known so much, that of his store he furnished plenty to others.

One day going about the walls, he began to discourse of our being pressed, and said, He cared not what the enemy could attempt upon him; he was in one of the strongest quarters of the town when he spake this, and not unwilling that such as of themselves saw it not, should be kept ignorant of the danger that hung over their heads. The Captains and the Officers he commended for their care and industry in their watch and guard, more to stir them up unto it, then really to congratulate that vertue in them: he said, A Captain could receive no greater blow in his reputation, then to be surpris'd; divers other speeches he used tending to encouragement, dissuading from security, and often amongst them interlaced the strength of the town.

I, at the first perceiving not his mask, began to put him in minde of some of the former particulars; the whole towns weaknesse, and the Archdukes opportunity; but he told me quickly by his eye, he would not have their strength touched in such an audience; so slighting my speeches, he continued his pace, and a la volée his discourse till he came to his lodging, there he called to me alone, and brake to me in these terms.

I perceive you are not ignorant of our estate, and therefore I will be more open and free with you; What think you? are we not in a fine taking here, ha? I will tell you, Captain Ogle, there was never man of my fortunes and reputation (both which have been cleared hitherto) plunged in greater extremitie then I am now: here we discoursed of our condition before mentioned, whereupon he inferred, That

he was like a man that had both courage and judgement to defend himself, and yet must sit with his hands bound, whilst boyes and devils come and box him about the ears. Yet this I will tell you too (*said he*) rather then you shall ever see the name of *Francis Vere* subscribed in the delivery of a town committed to his custody, or his hand to the least article of treaty (though with the Archdukes own person) had I a thousand lives I would first burie them all in the rampier; yet in the mean while judge you of the quality of this our being. I told him, that I thought if he were in his former liberty, he would bethink himself ere he suffered himself to be penned up in such a cage again: he made no reply, but addressed himself to his businesse, and I to mine. What his thoughts now were, I will not enter into, unlesse I had more strength to reach them. Sure I am they wanted no stuff to work on: for the bone he had to gnaw upon, required as good teeth as any were in Hannibals head to break it, and had not his been such, all the hands we had there could not have plucked it out of our own throats.

Not long after this the Generall calls a Council of the Colonels and chief Officers; there he propounded these two points; First, whether with the numbers formerly mentioned we could in time of assault sufficiently furnish all payts. Secondly, or if not, whether in such an extremity we ought not to borrow the troops employed for the guard of the Quarriers to the preservation of the town.

This was more to sound our judgements, then of any necessity, for him to seek allowance of his actions from
from

from them : for Generalls use not to ask leave of their Captains to dispose of their guards, what they are to quit, and what they are to keep.

Our numbers they confest were too few, yet must the Quarriers at no hand be abandoned; but how to hold them sufficiently, and to provide for those places, on which the fury of the storm was like to pour it self forth, no man gave expedient. The voyces were severally collected, and when it came to me, I said, That seeing our case standeth as it doth, our breaches many and great, our numbers few to defend them, my opinion was, that when we should see the cloud coming, we quit the Quarriers: for I know they were ordained for the custody, not to endanger the losse of the town; that of inconveniences the least must ever be chosen; that it were ill-bushandry to hazard the principall to save the interest, and as little discretion to let the fire run on to burn the palace, whilst we are busie preserving the lodge.

The two Colonels (Roone and Sir Horace Vere) who spake after me (for the chief speake last) were of the same minde, differing onely in some circumstances, not in substance of opinion. That the other were so scrupulous in this point, is to be thought proceeded rather from ignorance of our estate and danger, or else an apprehension grounded upon common opinions, which was, lose the Quarriers, lose the town; or (it may be) the fear of the interpretation that the Lords the States would make of such an advise; and that fear was likely to be the greater, because perhaps they were not furnished with strength of reason to maintain their opinion, or else they might finde it fittest to lay the burthen on his shoulders that was best able to bear it (the Generall

nerall himself). After this council there passed some few dayes till it was near Christmasse. The Archduke was himself in person in the camp, the assaults resolved on, and the time, the preparations brought down to the approaches, and the army, they onely stayed for low water to give on.

Here began the Generalls project to receive being, till now it had none; neither was it now time to call the Captains to a new council, either to require their advice, or to tell them his own. He had his head and his hands full; ours had not aiked now, had not his wanted then more for our safeties, then ours could do for our own. He bestirred him on all sides, his powers were quick and strong within him, and those without be disposed of thus. His troops he placed most on Sand-hill, Porcupine (or Pore-espice), the North-east Raveline, the forts and curtain of the old town: these were the breaches, the other guards were all furnished as was then fitting according to numbers.

The Quarters held their men till a Parley was commenced, and by it they secured. The False-bray was abandoned by order, as not tenable in time of assault, the Cannon in it dismounted, lest it should be spoyled by our own in Helmont which flanked it, and the whole face of Sand-hill. This False-bray was that dangerous passage mentioned in the objection going before, which I thought to have passed over, but am since otherwise advised. It lay at the foot of Sand-hill, in the eye of the enemy, and was therefore as well known to them as to our selves and so was the way to it, for they saw daily our entry to the guard to be through a covert-gallery, forced through the bottom of the said hill.

it was so narrow that two men armed were the most could passe in front; when you were come out of it, you were presently at the havens side, and the new town; without discovering any guard, passage, or place of importance, such as might any wayes give the least advantage to an enemies observation; and was (in truth) in nothing else secret; but that it was covered overhead from the eye of the heavens, otherwise there was no passage about the whole town lesse prejudiciall then that. There is a bolt of the same quiver likewise fallen into Emmanuel de Metterens book. There the Generalls judgement is (forsooth) controlled, and by the providence of Captain Sinklyer, and some others (as they think) much bettered. The Generall there is said to have neglected the Falso-bray, and that in a time when it was needfull to have defended it; but Captain Sinklyer with other Captains provided for it. But how provided for it? Sinklyer with six muskettiers undertook it; the Captains promised him two Companies to second him, the place could contain one good one. But why muskettiers alone, and not pikes? since they would make it good, why but six; and that against the fury of an army? what knowledge would they teach our Cannons to spare the Scots, and kill the Spaniards being joyned pefle-mefle? It is ridiculous. Captain Sinklyer, if he lived, would be angry to have his judgement thus wronged, and printed so small, as to undertake the defence of the Falso-bray, when the Bulwark it self was assaultable. But I leave these poore detractions that bewray onely the detractours weaknesse; and so return to the matter.

On the two Bulwarks formerly mentioned (Helmont and Sand-hil) with the mount Flamingburgh,

burgh, he placed store of Artillery and Mortar, the Mortars most of all at Helmont, and much Ordnance; for that (as I said before) scowred the avenue of the enemies coming upon the Sand-hill, and the old town.

When he had thus ordered his affairs for defence, he began to betake him to his stratageme (which indeed was our best shelter against that storm). He sent Captain Lewis Courrier (who spake good Spanish) into the Porcupine (or Porc-espine) the nearest place of guard to the enemy, with order to desire speech with some of them, he called twice or thrice, or more, but none answered him, so he effected nothing. The Generall displeased thereat, sent me to the place on the same errand. I called, but no man answered; beat a drum, but they would not hear; upon that I returned to the Generall, and told him they expected form; if he would speak with any of them, I must go without the limits of our works; he desired it, but fearing they would shoot at me, I put it to an adventure.

Coming to the havens-side, I caused the drummer to beat, and at the second call one answered me. After a little stay, the Governour of Shuys (Mattheo Cernio) came to me, each made his qualitie known to the other, I my errand to him, that the Generall Vere desired to have some qualified person of theirs sent into the town to speak with him; he this to the Archduke; I attended his return, which was speedy, and with acceptance; he told me of his affection to our Nation, bred and nourished through the good correspondency and neighbour-hood betwixt the Lord Governour of Flushing, Sir Robert Sidney, and him. He would take it as a courtesie that the Generall Vere would

would nominate and desire him of the Archduke to be employed in this businesse. This was performed, and at our next meeting agreed, that I should be a pledge for him, that each should bring a companion with him, that he with his should have Generall Veres; I and mine Don Augustinoes word for our safety; that during the Treaty no hostility should be used on land; that against low-water we should finde our selves there again at the same place. This done, we parted each to his home.

I told the Generall what had passed, he perswaded (and that earnestly) with the Netherlandish, French, and Captains of other Nations, to have some one of them accompany me in this action; the rather to avoid that interpretation which he fore-saw would follow being managed by him and his English onely; but they all refused, notwithstanding he assured severall of them, his purpose was no other then to gain time, where my self can testifie, that coming to him almost at low-water to know his further pleasure, I found him very earnest in perswading with an old Captain called Nicolas de Leur, to whom I heard him say, *Je vous assure ce n'est que pour gagner temps.* I was not then so good a Frenchman as that I durst say I well understood him, neither the purpose he had with him; since I have learned both better. This man refused as well as the rest, whereupon the Generall in a choler, willed to take with me whom I would my self, for he would appoint none. I took my old companion, and then familiar friend, Captain Fairfax. Cerano and Ottanes were then at the water-side, when we came; Simon Anthonio and Gamboletti, both Colonels or Maistros del campo brought them over

on horsback to us; on the other side, Don Juan de Pantochi Ajudante received us, and Don Augustino de Mexia at the battery, behinde which was the army ranged ready for the assault.

These two brought us to the Archduke, who was then come to the approaches, and accompanied as became so great a Prince; we performed those respects were fitting, he vouchsafed us the honour to move his hat, and being informed by one Hugh Owen (an Englishman, but a fugitive) of our names and families, as also that I could speak Spanish; he conjured me as I was a Gentleman, to tell him if there were any deceit in this handling or no; I told him, if there were it was more then I knew: for with my knowledge I would not be used as an instrument in a work of that nature: he asked me then what instructions I had; I told him, none; for we were come hither onely as pledges to assure the return of them, to whom he had given his instructions; he asked me again, whether I thought the Generall meant sincerely, or not; I told him, that I was altogether unacquainted with his purpose, but for any thing I knew, he did. Upon this we were dismissed, and by Don Augustino (whom Don Juan de Pantochi ever attended) brought to his lodging, and there honourably and kindly entertained, and visited by most of the Chiefs in the army, and also by some Ecclesiasticall persons.

There came an advertisement from the approaches of working in the town, this was occasioned by noise of knocking in (as they thought) Palizadoes. To give order to the contrary, we were after carried on horsback thither; we having received answer, that it was onely a cabbin of planks set up to keep beer in, the noise

of

of that work, and their suspicion ceased together: yet we stayed some few houres at Gamboletti the Italian Colonels guard, who at that time had the point, and Conde Theodoro Trivulci, and some other of the Cavalry accompanied us some houres; after which we returned to the camp, and to Don Augustino, and our rest. In the morning we found our lodging invironed with a strong guard, and understood of the discontentments of Cerano and Ottanes being returned, and how they had not any speech with the Generall. This startled me and Fairfax, who dreamt of no such matter, nor of any such manner of proceedings: Fairfax thought I had some secret instructions, in particular, and desired me to tell what the Fox meant to do; I told him (and it was truth) I know as little as he; but calling then to minde the discourse he had in his lodging, and mentioned formerly in this, and comparing it with the action, I said to Fairfax, that I verily believed that he meant to put a trick upon them; but (quoth he) the trick is put upon us, methinks; for we are prisoners, and in their power; they at liberty, and our judges.

Don Augustino coming to us gave an end to this discourse, and beginning another with me apart in his own chamber, where, with a grave and settled countenance, he told me of the Commissioners return; their entertainments and discontentments; as also the Archdukes towards me, for abusing him, and especially he urged these two points, That I told Cerano that the Generall desired speech with some from his Highnesse, which seemed not to be so, for he flatly refused it: That I had said to his Highnesse himself, that I was not an instrument of deceit, which also appeared otherwise,

and would not (I must account) be so slightly passed over : herunto I answered, That the Commissioners are returned without speech with the Generall is as strange to me, as unexpected of them; and I am the more sensible of this discourtesie towards them through the kinde usage I receive here of you; but as I am not of counsel in this manner of proceedings, so I know as little how to help it, as I can reach the drift. Touching the other point of his Highnesse displeasure towards me, I hope so noble a Prince will admit no other impression of my person or actions, then the integrity of both shall fairly deliver him: for if I have deceived him, it is more then probable I am deceived my self; nor do I believe that his Highnesse nor any of you judge me so flat, or so stupid, as upon knowledge of such a purpose, in irritating his Highnesse, I would deliver my self and friend as sacrifices to make another mans attonement. It is certain then, if the Generall hath fraud in this action, he borrows our persons, not our consents to work it by, which though you have now in your power, yet will I not fear the least ill measure, so long as I have the word of Don Augustino for my safety. The noble Gentleman moved with my confidence, took me in his arms, assured me it again, as also any courtesie else during my stay there, and was indeed as good as his word.

This thus passed, he told me he would relate faithfully to the Archduke what I had said; but yet ere he went, desired to know of me what I thought was to be further done; I told him, it could not be but there must be a mistaking on the one side or the other, that therefore to clear all doubts, I held it expedient for me to write to the Generall to let him know our present condition,

dition, his Highnesse discontentment upon this manner of proceeding, the danger he exposed us unto, and to understand his further purpose for our enlargement. This answer he carried presently to his Highnesse, and was interpreted by Owen, then sent by a messenger into the town, and thus was this rub removed, the Commissioners required and sent in, and the Parley brought upon the former foot again.

The Generall was not a little glad of their return, for it redeemed the fear he had of ours, who (as Captain Charles Rassart told me after) was not a little perplexed for me; he would often say, What shall I do for my Lieutenant-Colonel, and wished he had me back again, though he payed my ransom five times over: he would sometimes comfort himself with hope of their civility and my demeanour: fearing the worst, he said, I could not suffer better then for the publick cause.

The reason he bargained us, and handled them, was to gain so much more time, for that was precious to him for the advancement of his Works in the old town, to which through the benefit of this occasion of cessation of hostility, he had now drawn most of the hands could labour, giving them shovels to work, and order to have their weapons by them ready upon occasion to fight: he handled the matter so, that ere the Commissioners returned again, the old town and works were stronger by a thousand men. He could not have done this (at least so conveniently) had he begun conference with them at their first entrie, nor avoided that first conference, had he stayed them in the town, at least (every man hath his own wayes) he understood it so, and it was a sure and safe course for him and his designs: for causing Edward Goldwell, (a Gen-

Gentleman that then waited on him in his chamber) to make an alarm at their entry, he pretended there-upon treachery on their part, and made it the cause, why he would neither let them stay in the town, nor return the way they came. This bred disputes, & messengers passed to and fro betwixt them and the Generall. In the mean time the flood came in, and the water waxed so high that there was no passage that way without a boat; whereof there was none on that side of the town, nor any brought, for that had been to crosse his own purpose. The Commissioners desired earnestly to be suffered to stay, though it were upon the worst guard of the town; but it was denied: for he must rid himself of them, he could not do his businesse so well, if their eyes and ears were so near him; he sent them therefore to their friends on the East-side, forecasting wisely, that ere they could come there, and thence by the South to the West-side again, there to have admittance to his Highnesse, and there to have the matter debated in Council, he should not onely gain the whole winter-night, but most part of the next day for his advantage, which fell out according to that calculation, and beyond his expectation that it continued longer.

At the Commissioners return, his later entertainment to them was better then the first; he feasted with them, drank and discoursed with them, but came to no direct overture of article; though they much pressed him; that part of the day and the whole night was so spent, and in sleep. The like had we in the camp, except drinking, whereof there was no excessse, but of good chear and courtesie abundance. In the morning were discovered five ships out of Zeland riding in the
rode,

rode, they brought four hundred men, and some materials for the sea-works; the men were landed on the strand with long boats and shallops; the enemy shot at them with their artillery, but did no hurt.

The pretext of succour from the States the Generall took to break off the Treaty, which he had not yet really entred into. The Commissioners were on both sides discharged in this order. Cerano came first into the army, it was my right to have gone for him, but I sent Captain Fairfax at the earnest entreaty of Don Juan de Pantocho and some others, who said, they desired my stay, onely to have my company so much the longer, making me believe it was agreeable to them, the rather for that I spake their Language. I was the more willing to yield, because I would not leave any other impression then that I saw they had received of my integrity in this negotiation: Fairfax being in the town, Ottanes made not long stay, nor I after him.

The Generall was not pleased that I stayed out of my turn; but when I gave him my reasons for it, he seemed to be well contented.

“Generall Vere having now received part
 “Of the long-expected supplies, together
 “with the assurance of more at hand, strait-
 “way broke off the Treaty; which, though
 “ending somewhat abruptly, had (it seems)
 “finished the part which was by him allotted
 “it, whereupon he sent the Archduke this fol-
 “lowing acquittance.

“I saw how highly concerned you were
 “how you highly valued your honour
 “and how eagerly engaged you were
 “in this affair, and with allured hopes he
 “had

Y We

WE have heretofore held it necessary for certain reasons to treat with the Deputies which had authority from your Highnesse; but whilest we were about to conclude upon the Conditions and Articles, there are arrived certain of our ships of Warre, by whom we have received part of that which we had need of; so that we cannot with our Honour and Oath continue the Treaty, nor proceed in it; which we hope that your Highnesse will not take in ill part; and that neverthelesse, when your power shall reduce us to the like estate, you will not refuse as a most generous Prince to vouchsafe us again a gentle audience.

From our Town of Ostend,

the 25 of December, 1601.

Signed, FRANCIS FERE.

NOW whosoever shall but consider how many and how great difficulties the Archduke had struggled with to maintain the siege; how highly concerned he was in point of honour, and how eagerly engaged in his affections; and what assured hopes he had

"had of taking the town, will easily conceive
 "that he must needs finde himself much dis-
 "composed at so unexpected a disappoint-
 "ment. He had already taken it with his eyes;
 "as if he had bound the Leviathan for his
 "maidens to sport withall, under the assil-
 "lances of the trosse he walked the *Isopora* be-
 "fore the town with twenty Ladies and Gen-
 "tlemen in her train, as it were valiantly
 "to strike this wild beast, which he had now
 "laid fast in the coils, and to look upon the
 "out-side of the town before they entered into
 "it. Now to have his hopes thus blown up;
 "and to be thrown from the top of so much
 "confidence, wonder not if we finde him
 "much enraged at it, and what can we now
 "expect, but that he should let fly his rage in a
 "sudden and furious assault upon the town?
 "especially considering that before the treaty
 "began, all things were in readinesse for such
 "a purpose. But whether it were that the trea-
 "ty had unbended the souldiers resolution,
 "or the unexpected breaking off shounded the
 "Archdukes counsels, or whether his men
 "were discouraged at their enemies increased
 "strength, or whatsoever the cause was, cer-
 "tain it is, that there was no considerable as-
 "sault made upon the town for many dayes
 "after.
 "And we have cause to believe that Gene-
 "rall Vere, was never a whit sorry for it, who
 "had by this means opportunity (though
 "no leasure) to repair his works, wherein he

Employed above twelve hundred men for at
 least eight dayes together, during which
 time he stood in guard in person at the time
 of low water in the night, (being the time of
 the greatest danger) which conducted much
 into the encouragement of his men, and ha-
 ving received intelligence by his Scouts of
 the enemies preparations and resolutions
 within few dayes to give them a general as-
 sault, he was careful to firm the chief places
 of *Falmouth*, *Sandhill*, and the rest, and to fur-
 nish them with Cannon and stones, and
 what else might be usefull for their de-
 fence. To get the most number of
 men whilst the besiegers spared no pow-
 der, but let fly at the ships, which notwith-
 standing daily and highly went into the
 town, and many a bullet was interchanged
 between the town and the camp, who lay
 all this while pelting at one another, some
 small hurts on both sides being given and
 received. But the seventh of January was the day
 designed by the besiegers, wherein to at-
 tempt something extraordinary. All day long without intermission did
 the Duke batter the bulwark of *Sand-hill*,
Falmouth, *Porc-spie*, and other places near ad-
 joyning, with eighteen Cannon from two
 of his batteries, the one at the foot of the
 downs upon the *Cattees*, and the other on
 the South side thereof, from whence were
 discharged (which the Cannoniers count-

“ed) above two thousand shot on that side
 “the town, all the bullets weighing forty,
 “and fourty six pounds a piece.

“After I was thus far engaged I happily
 “met with an account of this bloody assault,
 “by Henry Hextall, who was present at it, to
 “him therefore I shall willingly resign the
 “story.

His Highnesse, the archduke, then seeing himself
 thus deluded by Generall Vere his Parley, was
 much vexed thereat, and very angry with the chief of
 his Council of War, who had diverted him from giving
 the assault upon that day when the Party was called for,
 insomuch that some of them, for two or three dayes after
 (as it was credibly reported) durst not look him in the
 face; others, to please him, perswaded him to give an
 assault upon the town. Hereupon his Highnesse took a
 resolution to revenge himself of those within the town;
 saying, He would put them all to the sword, his Com-
 manders and souldiers taking likewise an oath, that if
 they entred, they would not spare man, woman, nor
 childe in it. Till that the enemy had shot upon and into
 the town, above an hundred sixty three thousand two
 hundred Cannon-shot, to beat it about our ears, scarce
 leaving a whole house standing; but now to pour out his
 wrath and fury more upon us, on the seventh of Janu-
 ary above-said, very early in the morning he began
 with eighteen pieces of Cannon and half-Cannon car-
 rying bullets of forty and forty eight pounds a piece,
 from their pile-battery, and that which stood under
 their Cattey upon the foot of the Downs, to batter

Sand-hill, the Porc-espice, and Helmont, and that day till evening he shot upon Sand-hill, and the curtain of the old town above two and twenty hundred Cannon-shot; insomuch that it might rather have been called Yron-hill then Sand-hill for it stuck so full of bullets, that many of them tumbled down into the False-bray, and others striking on their own bullets, breaking in pieces flew up into the aire as high as a steeple.

During this furious battery, the enemy all the day long made great preparations to assault us against night; and to that end brought down scaling ladders, great store of ammunition, hand-granadoes, and diverse other instruments and materials of war fitting thereunto; and withall toward evening drew down his army, and ordered his men in this manner.

Count Farnese an Italian should first give on with two thousand Italians & Spaniards upon Sand-hill, the breach, and the curtain of the old town; the Governour of Dixmunde with two thousand Spaniards and other Nations upon the Porc-espice and Helmont. Another Captain with five hundred men to fall on upon the West-raveline, and another Captain with five hundred men more upon the South-quarriers, and the Spanish Serjeant-major-generall, which was an hostage in Ostend, upon the West-quarriers, making in all eight thousand men to assault the West-side; & the Count of Bucquoy was to have assaulted the East-side, the East-raveline, and the new-haven, as a second for them which fell on upon Sand-hill, and the old town on the West-side: and thus their men, time, and place was ordered.

Generall Vere knowing the enemies intent, that he would

would assault us at a low-water, slept not, but was exceeding carefull and vigilant all the day, to prepare things necessary to defend the town, and withstand the enemy. And because there were no Sparrs, Beams, and Palizadoes in the magazine, he caused divers houses that were foor, to be pulled down, and taking the Beams and Sparrs from off them, he made the carpenters make Palizadoes and Stockadoes of them: and at a high-water sent the West-fludes, and engrossed as much water as possibly he could into the old and new towns. And to work drawing drew all the men in the town, that were able to fight, into arms, and disposed of them, as followeth.

To maintain Sand-hil, and defend the breach, he placed his brother Sir Horace Vere, and Sir Charles Fairfax with twelve weak companies, whereof some were not above ten or twelve men strong, giving them double arms, a pike and a musket, and good store of ammunition.

Upon the curtain of the old town, between Sand-hil and a redoubt called Schottenburch, a most dangerous place; which he feared most, being towered and beaten down with the sea and the enemies Cannon, Sir Francis Vere stood himself with Captain Zeglin, with six weak companies to help to defend it.

Within the redoubt of Schottenburch he self, he appointed Captain Utenhoven, and Captain Houghton with their two companies.

From Schottenburch along the curtain to the old Church, which the enemy had shot down, he placed Colonel Lone with three hundred Zelanders, that came into the town the day the Parley brake off.

From the old Church along the curtain and the
flinks

flanks to the North-part, Captain Zithan commanded over six weak companies.

Upon the Redoubt called Moses-table was Captain Montelquir de Roques (a worthy French Captain, whom Sir Francis Vere loved entirely for the worth and valour that was in him) with two French companies.

For the guarding of the North-raveline, he appointed Captain Charles Raffart with four weak companies: the rest of the curtain (by reason of the flanks upon the cut of the new-haven, being reasonable well defended) were left unmanned.

Upon the curtain of the new town under Flaming-burgh, were placed five weak companies to second Moses-table, if need did require.

Upon Flaming-burgh, two whole cannon and two field-pieces were planted to scowre the old town.

Upon the West-raveline two companies were likewise placed, and a whole cannon, and two half-cannons planted upon it.

For the defending of the Porc-espice, a place of great importance, lying under Helmont, Sir Francis Vere placed four of the strongest companies that could be found in the town.

Upon the bulwark called Helmont, which flank-ed directly the breach and Sand-hil, and scowred along the strand between the enemies pile-battery, the old-haven over which they were to passe to come to Sand-hil, and the curtain of the old-town, which also did help to defend the Porc-espice, he placed ten weak companies, whereof the Generalls company was one; and had upon it nine brasse and yron pieces, laden with chained-bullets, boxes with musket-bullets, and cart-ridge

ridge-shot. These ten companies were kept as a reserve, to be employed as a second where most occasion required, and were commanded by Captain Metkirck and Serjeant-major- Carpenter.

The rest of the bulwarks, rampiers, and the counterscarp about the town, were but slightly manned with a few men, in regard the enemie could come to attempt none of the, till he became master of the former. Here you see a great many companies thus disposed of; but all, or the most of them, were exceeding weak, and some of them not above seven or eight men strong, which in all could not make above twelve hundred able fighting-men, to resist an armie of ten thousand men, that stood ready to assault them.

The Ordnance and other instruments and materials of warre the Generall disposed of in this sort; upon the casement of the West-bulwark he planted two whole and two half-Cannons; which flanked Helmont and the Porc-espice, and scowred along the old-haven, down as far as the Ton-beacon, beyond their pile-battery, next to that place where they were to passe over the haven at a low-water. These Ordnance were likewise charged with musket-bullets, chained-bullets, and yron-bullets.

Upon all these batteries, especially those which flanked the breach, and played directly upon the strand, Sir Francis Vere disposed of the best Cannoniers in the town; among the rest an Englishman called Francis the Gurmer, an excellent Cannonier, which had been the death of many a Spaniard. And because they should be sure to take their mark right upon their cog, before it grew dark he commanded them to let flie two or three Cannon-bullets upon the strand, and to-

wards the new-haven, to see for a triall where their bullets fell, that they might finde their ground the better in the night, when the enemy was to fall on.

Moreover, upon the top of the breach, and along the curtain of the old town were set firkins of ashes to be tumbled down the wall upon the enemy to blinde them; also little firkins with frize-riggers, or quadrant tenter-nails, three sticking in the ground, and one upright; which were likewise to be cast down the rampier to prick them, when they sought to enter. Then many great heaps of stones, and brick-bats, which the souldiers brought from the old Church they had shot down, to throw amongst them: then we had ropes of pitch, hoops bound about with squibs and fire-works to throw among them; great store of hand-granadoes, and clubs, which we called Hercules-clubs, with heavy heads of wood, and nails driven into the squares of them. These and some others (because the enemy had sworn all our deaths) the Generall provided to entertain and welcome them.

When it began to grow darkish, a little before low-water, in the interim while the enemy was a cooling of his Ordnance, which had playd all the day long upon the breach and the old town, the Generall taking advantage of this precious time, commanded Captain Dexter and Captain Clark with some fiftie stout workmen, who had a rose-noble apiece for a quarter of an haires work, to get up to the top of the breach, which the enemies cannon had made very mountable, and then with all expedition to cast up a small breast-work, and drive in as many Palizadoes as possibly they could, that his brother Sir Horace Vere, and the rest of the Captains and souldiers which he commanded-

manded, might have some little shelter; the better to defend the breach, and repulse the enemy when he strived to enter: which (blessed be God) with the losse of a few men they performed.

This being done, Sir Francis Vere went through the sally-port down into the Fallo-bray, and it being twilight, called for an old souldier, a Gentleman of his company, to go out *Sentinel-perdu*, and to creep out to the strand between two gabions, giving him expresse command, that if he saw an enemy, he should come in unto him silently, without giving any alarm at all. He crept upon his belly as far as he could, and at last discovered Count Farnese, above mentioned, wading and putting over the old haven above their pile-battery, with his two thousand Italians, which were to fall on first; and as they waded over, he drew them up into battalions and divisions; which this Gentleman having discovered, came in silently to Sir Francis Vere (as he had commanded him), who asked him, What news? My Lord (said he) I smell good store of gold chains, buff-jerkins, Spanish cassocks, and Spanish blades. Ha, (sayes Sir Francis Vere) sayest thou more? I hope thou shalt have some of them anon; and giving him a piece of gold, he went up again through the sally-port to the top of Sand-hil, where he gave expresse order to Serjeant-major Carpenter to go to Helmont, and every man to his charge, and not to take any alarm, or shoot off either cannon or musket-shot till he himself gave the signall; and then to give fire both with the Ordnance and small shot, as fast as ever they could charge and discharge.

When the enemy had put over his two thousand Italians, he had also a signall to give notice thereof to the

Count of Bucquoy, that they were ready to fall on, whose signal was the shot of a cannon from their pile-battery, with a hollow-bated bullet into the sea towards his quarter, which made a humming noise.

When Generall Vere had got them under the swoop of his cannon and small-shot, he poured a volley of cannon and musket-shot upon them, raking through their battalions, and making lanes amongst them upon the bare strand, which did so amaze and startle them, that they were at a non-plus, whether they should fall on, or retreat back again; yet at last taking courage, and tumbling over their dead bodies, they rallied themselves, and came under the foot of Sand-hil, and along the foot of the curtain of the old town to the very piles that were strook under the wall, where they began to make ready to send us a volley. Which Sir Francis Vere seeing that they were a presenting, and ready to give fire upon us, (because indeed all the breast-work and parapet was beaten down flat to the rampier that day with their Ordnance) and the standing open to the enemies shot, commanded all the souldiers to fall flat down upon the ground, while the enemies shot flew like a shower of hail over their heads, which for the reasons above said, saved a great many mens lives.

This being done, our men rising saw the enemy hastning to come up to the breach, and mounting up the wall of the old town. Sir Francis Vere flourishing his sword, called to them in Spanish and Italian venezza, causing the souldiers as they climbed up, to cast and tumble down among them the firkins of ashes, the barrils of Frize-mytters, the hoops, stones, and brick-bats, which were provided for them.

The

The alarm being given, it was admirable to see with what courage and resolution our men fought; yea, the Lord did as it were infuse fresh courage and strength into a company of poor snakes and sick soldiers, which came running out of their beds up to the wall to fight their shares; and the women with their laps full of powder to supply them, when they had shot away all their ammunition. Our brand was to gain.

Now were the walls of Ostend all on a light fire, and our Ordnance thundring upon them from our hil-warks; now was there a lamentable cry of dying men among them: for they could no further come up to the top of the breach to enter it, or creep up between Sand-hill and Schottenburch, but they were either knock-ed on the head with the stocks of our muskets, our Hercules-clubs, or run through with our pikes and swords. Twice or thrice when they strived to enter, they were beaten off, and could get no advantage up-on us.

The fight upon the breach and the old town continued hotter and hotter for the space of above an houre, the enemy falling on at the same instant upon the Porc-espit, Helmont, the West-baveline, & Quarriers, were so bravely repulsed, that they could not enter a man.

The enemy fainting, and having had his belly full, those on the West-side beat a dolefull retreat; while the Lord of Hosts ended our dispute for the town, crown-ed us with victory; and the roaring noise of our Cannon, rending the aire, and rolling along the super-ficies of the water, the wind being South, and with us, carried that night the news thereof to our friends in England and Holland.

Generall Vere perceiving the enemy to fall off, commanded me to run as fast as ever I could to Serjeant-major Carpenter, and the Auditour Fleming, who were upon Helmont, that they should presently open the West-sluce, out of which there ran such a stream and torrent down through the chanel of the West-haven, that upon their retreat it carried away many of their sound and hurt men into the sea; and besides, our men fell down our walls after them, slew a great many of their men as they retreated, and took some prisoners, pillaged and stript a great many, and brought in gold-chains, Spanish-pistols, buff-jerkins, Spanish-cassocks, blades, swords, and targets; among the rest one, wherein was enameled in gold the seven Worthies, worth seven or eight hundred guilders; and among the rest, that souldier, which Sir Francis Vere had sent out to discover, with as much booty as ever he could lug, saying, That Sir Francis Vere was now as good as his word.

Under Sand-hil, and all along the walls of the old town, the Porc-espice and West-raveline, lay whole heaps of dead carcases, forty or fifty upon a heap, stark naked, goodly young men, Spaniards and Italians: among which, some (besides other marks to know them by) had their beards clean shaven off. There lay also upon the sand some dead horse, with baskets of hand-granadoes; they left also behinde them their scaling-ladders, great store of spades, and shovels, bills, hatchets, and axes, with other materials.

Here

" Here the French diary adds, that those who
 " gave the assault upon the old town, were fur-
 " nished with two or three dayes victuals,
 " which they had brought in sacks, intending
 " to have intrenched themselves, and main-
 " tained the place against the besieged, if their
 " enterprise had succeeded. Also, that among
 " the heaps of the slain was found in mans ap-
 " parell the body of a yong Spanish woman
 " neer unto Sand-hill, who (as was conjectured
 " by her wounds) had been slain in the assault,
 " having under her apparell a chain of gold set
 " with precious stones, besides other jewels &
 " silver. And that during this assault the Arch-
 " duke disposed of himself behinde the battery
 " of the Catteys, and the Infanta remained at the
 " fort Isabella.

Upon the East-side also they stood in three great
 battalions before the town upon the Gullet, but the
 tide coming in, they came too late, so that they could
 not second those on the West-side, and fall on where
 they were appointed; to wit, upon our new-haven,
 which lay upon the North-east-side of the town. For
 the water beginning to rise, it did amaze the souldiers,
 and they feared, if they stayed any longer, they could
 not be relieved by their fellows; howsoever for their
 honours they would do something, and resolved to give
 on upon our Spanish half-moon, which lay over the
 Gullet on the South-east part of the town. But a
 souldier of ours falling out of it (a policie of Sir
 Francis Vere) disappointed this designe, and yielded
 himself prisoner unto them; telling them that there
 were

were but forty souldiers in the half-moon, and offered to lead them to it; which he did, and they took it easily.

For Generall Vere (with great judgement) had left it thus ill manned, to draw the enemy on the East-side thither, to separate them from their fellows on the West-side, to make them lose time; contenting himself to guard the places of most importance; assuring himself that he should soon recover the other at his pleasure.

The Archdukes men having thus taken the half-moon, and being many therein, they began with spades, shovels, pick-axes, and other instruments, to turn it up against the town. But all prevailed not, for it lay open towards the town, and those of the town began to shoot at them from the South and Spanish-bulwarks, both with Cannon and musket-shot, with such fury, as they slew many of them; and withall seeing the tide come in more and more, they began to faint: whereupon Generall Vere sent Captain Day with some troops to beat them out of it, who with great courage chased them out of it, with the effusion of much blood: for the next day they told three hundred men slain in the half-moon, besides those that were drowned and hurt.

In this generall assault, which on both sides of the town continued above two houres upon all the places above-mentioned, the Archduke (besides some that were carried into the sea) lost above two thousand men. Among the which there were a great number of Noble-men, Chiefs, and Commanders. Amongst the rest, the Count d' Imbero, an Italian, who offered as much gold as he did weigh for his ransom; and yet he was slain by a private souldier; Don Duran-

go Maistro del campo, or Colonel; Don Al-
vares Suares Knight of the Order of Saint Jaques;
Simon Anthonio Colonel; the Serjeant-major-
Generall, who had been hostage in Ostend on the
twenty fourth and twenty fifth of December 1601,
and the Lieutenant-Governour of Antwerp, with
diverse others.

On this side there were slain between thirty and
fourty souldiers; and about an hundred hurt. The
men of command slain were Captain Haughton,
Captain Nicolas vanden Lier, a Lieutenant of the
new Geux, two English Lieutenants, an Ancient,
and Captain Haughtons two Serjeants, and Ma-
ster Tedcastle, Gentleman of Sir Francis Veres
horse, who was slain between Sir Francis Vere and
my self, (his Page) with two musket-bullets chained
together; and calling to me, bad me pull off his gold
ring from off his little finger, and send it to his sister
as a token of his last good-night, and so commending
his spirit into the hands of the Lord, died. Sir Ho-
race Vere was likewise hurt in the leg, with a splin-
ter that flew from a Palizado. And thus much brief-
ly of the assault, and the repulse they received in
Ostend, that day and night, in memorie of the he-
roick actions of Sir Francis Vere (of famous me-
morie) my old Master.

“ After this bloody shower was once over,
“ the weather cleared up into its usual temper,
“ and so continued, not without good store of
“ artificial thunder and lightning on both sides
“ daily, but without any remarkable alterati-
“ on untill the seventh of March then next en-
A a suing

"suing, which was in the year one thousand six
 "hundred and two. Then did Generall Vere,
 "having lately repaired the Poulder and West-
 "square, resigne up his Government of Ostend
 "unto others appointed by the States to suc-
 "ceed him, having valiantly defended it for a-
 "bove eight moneths against all the Archdukes
 "power, and leaving it much better able to de-
 "fend it self, then it was at his first coming
 "thither. So the same night both he and his
 "brother, Sir *Horatio Vere*, imbarqued them-
 "selves, having sent away their horses and
 "baggage before them, and both carrying with
 "them, and leaving behinde them the marks
 "of true honour and renown.

FINIS.

PRÆLIUM NUPORTANUM

Rerum fide tradebat

I. S. DORISLAUS. J. C.

Sed videbat adhuc inter liberos vi-
ciosque Belgas civile Bellum, a-
vidum sanguinis, pecunie pro-
digum, raptis per mutuas clades
tot fortibus animis, & egestis in
terris punctum veteris simul &
novi orbis immensis opibus, cum, ararii & sti-
pendiorum inopia, *Hispanicas* legiones Seditio
incessit. Verus illa militia malum, initio statim
secularis anni in rabiem protuperat, orto à
vexillariis per *Brabantiam* præsidia agentibus
initio, & tractis pari vel necessitate, vel præ-
dandi lubidine *Walonum Germanorumque* nume-
ris, qui *Crevekeuram*, & ad *Mosam Vahalisque*
confluentes *St. Andrea* munimentum infide-
bant. Exelverat ea res solito maturius, & ver-
gente adhuc hyeme, *Mauritium Oranij* Princi-
pem, properum gnarumque occasionis. Ex ille
quidem, non territis magis quam emptis se-
ditionum animis, acceptisque in dedicationem
munimentis, clara in præsens victoria, & in
posterum usui, adulto jam vere, *Hagam* rever-
sus est. Sustulerant animos hoc successu liberi
Belgæ, & in *Ordinum* Conventu diserebatur, In-

1600.

standum cœptis & famæ, dum fluxâ ærarii & militum fide, vis dolusque adversum discordes & iratos ex æquo valeret: *Hispanie* Regem, immensis ob præclusa commercia vectigalium fructibus, attenuato *Indiarum* proventu, effusis prioribus in classem rursus *Anglie* minacem & irritam opibus, læsæque apud *Italos* fide, non sufficiens necessitatibus belli Archiducem *Albertum*, primo statim in *Belgium* ingressu. Imperii primordia Tributis & oneravisset ab ipsis provinciis jam pridem bello attritis, equitum pedumque viro, damna & injurias ægrè tolerari: Quare si prius ipsi inobuerant, externo simul impulsu, & interno motu militum hastam. Multo hæc inter proceres adfensu celebrabantur, & plerique sumptuum & pecunie parci, verbis egregii & penè nimii erant. Sed *Hollandi*, in quos tota impendiorum moles inclinaverat, variè disserebant, de magnitudine æris alieni, inopiâ quantum, & immensis civium oneribus, desolati urbes dilapsi opificum, mercatores exhaustos, vires animamque *Reipublicæ* elidi prædationibus *Dunkerkanorum*: abnuebantque ultiores in æstatem sumptus, præterquam pacando mari, & rapienda prædantium sedi. In idem *Zelandi*, & atrius portendebant, quanto gravioribus ob viciniam dampnis afflictabantur. Destinatio hæc præpotentium *Provinciarum* specie & usu omnibus magnifica, sed aspera inceptu, perfectu ardua prudentibus videbatur: ea pars, quò suspectior sollicitis, *Principi* placebat, cuius pulcherrimum animum difficultas operis,

& patriandi per id belli gloria exstimulaverant, Veruntamen cunctator naturâ, cautis potius quam acribus consiliis summam expeditionis tractabat, quæ crebris cum rerum bellicæ prudentibus habebatur. Ibi maturissimus, quibusque oportunitates ostende loqui, quæ præliis & dicione. *Ordinum* in oâ *Flandria* tenebatur; illâ in vbi *Oceano* exercitum, & inde planitie litoris præter *Nuportum* sub *Dunkerken* duci in promptu esse, subiacentâ classis cum *Tormentis* & annonâ militari; impulso simul terrâ, simul mari bello. Instantior aliis securitatis cura, nec imperatorium roboratur, ante captam *Nuportum*, *Dunkerken* aggredi: ubi tergo consuluerint, hæc magnâ mole expugnari urbem, neque sibi, neque manu validam, fluxis ævo & incuriâ munimentis. Præcipuum fiducia alimentum erat *Seditio Hispanorum*, præpeditura subsidium oblectis, & si fortè machis consederint, impar equitatu & minor hostis non ausurus novissimum discrimen. Aderat consilio *Franciscus Verius*, quo æmo illâ tempestate rei militaris colliditq. habebatur: ille multo usu sui & hostium gnarus, pares & audentes pugnæ *Alberti* copias, incessurâque prælio intra quartum & decimum à *Mauritio* in *Flandriam* appulsi diem, prælagus loquebatur. Erantque nonnulli consiliantium, quibus cura magis cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placebant: hi modestius differebant. Bellum suscipi avio itinere, hostili litore, inter incerta ventorum & maris: seditiosos ad obsequium flecti ingentibus promissis, & quantulacunque stipendio-

rum portione: imò ruituros ultro, ut assertâ in hostem capitali urbe, uberrimos *Flandriæ* agros & opes excelsius rapiant in præmium & prædâ &, si rem dari in easum oporteat, frustra equitem jactari, moliori hostium pedite, in quo præcipuum robur: modicum victoriæ prætium esse commercii securitatem, subactâ urbe insidiatrice maris & raprâbus infami: at fuso exercitu, cladem immensam, & nihil reliquum victis, uno prælii turbine, mari, commercio, libertate & patriâ excussis. Inextinguam viis tot per annos belli sapientiam profectis præceps consilium: hæsuramque temeritatis infamiam, tunc quoque cum pericula effugissent. Salutaria hæc, sed injucunda, flagrantibus *Hollandorum* animis in *Dänkerkam*, exitiabilem mercaturâ, & publicis ararii fructibus gravem. Itâ victis tandem plurium consensu nolentibus, in *Flandriam* decernitur exercitus, ingentibus animis, nec minori paratu: mille navium classis in peditem equitemque distributa, curruum & Tormentorum ingens numerus, annonæ permagna vis. Placebâtque consilium, nè spatii itinerum attereretur exercitus, impositos navibus militem, equos, com meatum, & extra fluminum ora in Oceanum evectos, exponere in portu *Ostendæ*, ad usum belli terrâ marique opportuna. Sed bene consultis, classique jam inter *Zelandiæ* æstuaria ablâbenti fortuna ventique reslabant, cedente in Austrum cœlo enavigantibus adversum. Quare, cum prima non provenissent, quod è præsentibus uberrimum erat, subducta fuit classis

ad illam *Flandriæ* oram, quam à *Zelandiæ* *Scal-*
diæ, jam fluvii & maris ambiguis, abscindit.
 Ibi juxta Castellum, cui vocabulum *Philippina*,
 incitante sese æstu, naves in vadum adactæ,
 quæ, relabente pelago, in udi mollisque soli
 crepidine, utpote latâ alvâ, & pandis more
 gentico carinis, sine noxa sidebant, adeo ut
 horarum quinque spatio tota belli moles haud
 sanè gravi labore in terram redderetur. Ipsâ
 specie exscendentis exercitus territi hostes, qui
Philippinam insederant, sese dediderunt. Tum
 lustrata copiarum equitum peditumque: illarum ter,
 hæ duodecim millium, dispersitæque in tres
 manus, viribus & dignitate pares, alternante
 inter duces, more militiæ, frontis & tergi vice.
 Harum unam ducebat *Ernestus*, comes *Nassa-*
vius, vir belli egregius, & qui nunquam ratio,
 nonnunquam fortuna defuit: altera *Everardo*
 habebatur *Comiti Solmensi*, clarâ & veteri per
Germaniâ nobilitate: tertiam regibat *Franciscus*
Varius, domi egregiis natalibus, foris ingenti-
 bus ausis factisque celebratus. Consultor om-
 nibus & autor aderat præeratque *Mauricius O-*
rangianus, columen partium. Modicis deinde
 itineribus, per depressum *Flandriæ* agrum, pro-
 pe *Ekeloam* & *Brugas* inclytam olim opibus &
 meretriciis advenarum, transductus exerci-
 tus apud *Oldenburgum*, quarto ab *Ostenda* milli-
 ari, æstu sitique perustus consedit: flagrantis-
 simis quippe solibus, ardente Junio, iter fece-
 rant; & omnis illo tractu aqua turbida, & uli-
 gine decolor est, potuque nocens. Aperuerat
 hoc Castellum defensis hostium fuga, simulque

via in

viam quæ *Ostendam* pertingit: unde cibatorum & cerevisiæ affluentia copiâ toto sese triduo milles refecit. Ibi consultatum inter militiæ proceres, e quo primum molimine famiam auspicarentur & bellum. Id maxime ambigebatur, utrum ad decus usumve potius foret, oppugnata tunc *Nuportum* hosti eripere, an verò exuere eundem Castellis, quæ fallaces inter & humentes campos veluti claustra *Ostenda* infidebat. *Nuportum* obsidio primò pluribus, mox omnibus placuit. Tum primores *Ordinum*, comites itineris & consilium dueibus additi, *Ostendam* concessere, tutam mari, viris, murisque urbem, ut exempti dubiis belli, summæ rerum servarentur: unaque *Solmenfis* sua cum manu, quâ brevissimum iter, *Ostendam* præmissus, ut capto Castello, cui nomen *Albertus*, viam, quæ ab *Ostenda* *Nuportum* ducit, incursum & periculum hostium exsolveret. Et huic quidem sua vis & præsidii metus facilem victoriam dedere. Exinde *Mauritius* motis ab *Oldenburg* castris, per interiora *Flandriæ* *Nuportum* versus ducebat exercitum, rapturus in transitu *Dammam*, Castellum ignobile quidem, sed accumbens flumini, quod prætervehens *Nuportum* sorbetur mari. At *Oldenburgum* & vicinas arces, vacuas metu & fugâ hostium, suis ipse militibus discedens firmaverat, nam operibus munitæ erant, ut hostem si forte exercitum, illo viâ compendio præcluderet, objectaretque labori & casibus, per longinquos circuitus *Nuporto* obsesse subventurum. Ceterum proficiscentes jam copias putris soli labes, & curruum Tormentorumque

que ponderi subsidens humus ab itinere destinato avertit: igitur, cum in tenui viculo prope *Hemskerkam* pernoctavisset exercitus, flexo in dextram & maritima itinere, per lata & pingua pascuorum viam moliebantur versus planitiem littoris; oppletis passim, dum incedunt, humilioribus folsis, & latioribus alveis, aut quibus altior gurges est, ponte junctis, non enim alia incilibus dissectior & fecundior aquarum regio est. Ità tandem perventum ad colles littori prætextos; castraque posita prope munimentum, quod captum ante *Solmenſi* memoravimus. Primâ statim luce fulsere signa in planitie littorea; lætæque & composito agmine *Nuportum* ductæ legiones; fluviumque, quo litus diffinditur, fidente æstu, vado transiêre. Ardebat interim *Hispanorum* Seditio, flagrantissimâ vi illorum, qui, occupatis *Diestâ Brabantie* & conterminis *Hannoniæ*, terrore & minis pecuniam & spolia civium, velut ex hoste prædam, convectabant. Hi perniciæ & huc exempli intègros quoque traxerant; egressosque ab *Archiduce* Legatos, hos irrisu & ludibrio, alios impulsu & verberibus proturbaverant; donec *Isabella* Infans *Hispaniæ*, *Alberta* nupta, timens dotali *Belgio*, ire Ipsa & opponere sanguinis Majestatem furentibus non muliebriter constituit; ingens animi Heroïna; & virilibus sub patre *Philippo* curis supra fæminam exercita. Illa per decus *Hispani* nominis & ante-actæ militiæ obtestabatur, nè se, nè maritum, hosti inultos *Flandriæ* agros rapienti in prædam relinquerent; admonebátque milites optatæ & elu-

sæ toties pugna; nunc montibus, mari, armis
 cinctum hostem: nec ullum deprensis iter, nisi
 quod ferro aperiant: irent, properarent culpam
 in decus vertere; imponderentque triginta &
 quatuor annis magnum diem: sed finis sermo-
 num in promisso mercedis & præmiorum; id-
 que datis obsidibus firmabatur: tum preces
 valere. Reversos ad obsequium cupido involat
 eundi in hostem; piaculum furoris: secutusque
 ardorem militum *Albertus*, quantum in præ-
 fidiis copiarum est, sub signis educit: undecim
 millia peditum, equites mille & quadrin-
 gentos, veteranum militem & expertæ virtu-
 tis: rapiebátque exercitum adeò citus & præ-
 ceptus, ut famam sui præveniret: vir acer bello,
 & quantam modestiæ famam in purpura,
 tantam militiæ vigoris laudem apud posteros
 meritis. At securus hostium *Orangianus* exer-
 citus loca castris apud *Nuportum* ceperat, tuta
 oppugnaturis, arctatura obsessos, dispersitá-
 que munia circummœnientibus: premenda-
 rum urbium artifice *Mauritii* ingenio. Já-
 que classis, dives annonæ, cum omni instru-
 mento militari appulerat: pontemque contex-
 tu navium classiarii inceperant sternendo fluvio
 quâ is coit arctior; ut castra & tendens in illis
 cis ultraque miles, viribus & usu promptius
 miscerentur: cum, quarto quo hæc properantur
 die, trepidi ab *Ostenda* nuncii attulere, hostem
 virium famæque ingentem prope *Oldenburgum*
 consedisse. Sanè *Rivasius*, *Hispanus*, mul-
 tis stipendiis et belli gnarus, ostentandis cir-
 ca *Slusam* copiis, & rumore supra verum au-
 ctis,

ctis, *Nuporti* obsidione avertere *Mauritium*, jam antè agitaverat. Quare, vocato concilio, cum pleriq; notam *Rivasii* jactantiam spernerent, simulatione virium illudentis timori præsidiorum; *Verius* semper magna belli, mox ingens pars prælii, memor augurii, & tenax prioris sententiæ, contrà differebat. Haud dubiè ingruere hostem cum robore exercitus & prælio incidere, quare repentino discrimini unum esse remedium, si, relictâ *Nuporto*, totâ belli mole protinus occurrant, antequàm vel minando exterritis, vel vi obtritis *Oldenburgi* & *Smæskerke* præsidiis, perruptoque itineris obice, medium se *Ostendam* inter & *Nuportum* hostis obiciat; posse, si universi festinaverint, simul præsidiis suis reddi salutem, & hostium Castellis, inter mersa & uliginosa camporum, claudi aditum exitumque: pretium laboris haud inglorium; & paulò antè capturæ *Nuporti* à prudentibus æquatum. Hæc quidem haud frustra moneri *Mauritius* fatebatur; sed cunctator naturâ, dum percoquit consilium, corruptit. Sub noctem, acrioribus, & alium alio urgentibus nuntiis adferebatur, hosti magnum & infestum agmen esse, instructumque Tormentis: mox, militi in *Oldenburgi* præsidium agitati ab Archiducis *Alberti* fœcialibus minaciter imperatam deditionem; neque post multò, impares tutelæ sui imminentem perniciem tempestivâ deditione prævenisse. Nox ducibus inquietas erat & pervigil, turbidis nuntiorum rumoribus, et expendente rursus belli consilia Principe. Igitur *Verius*, quoniam prima consiliorum

frustrà ceciderant, perruptis munimentis, inter
 quæ sisti hostem speraverat, hortari, orare, ut
 motis confestim castris, arriperent insiderentq;
 citeriorem illius itineris exitum, quod per de-
 pressa pascuorum et humida paludum, ab
Hemskerka adusque colles littoreos, obrutis fos-
 sis, jactuque pontium sibi transituris consera-
 verant: non enim alium hosti in littus aditum
 esse, nisi flexu, et per avia circumferanti. Ha-
 tenus *Variana* sententiæ *Mauritius* accesserat, ut
Ernestum Nassavium cum undeviginti peditum
 signis, equitibus quingentis, Tormentis duo-
 bus, et cetero paratu militari, jussu præmit-
 ti, fauces itineris immuniturum; ipse cum reli-
 qui exercitus viribus, ubi res posceret, adfutu-
 rus. At *Verius* carpi vires & dispergi copias
 abnuebat, sæpe omnes vinci, pugnantibus sin-
 gulis: fas enim credi, hostem, occasionum haud
 legem, cum milite primi agminis ante eru-
 pturum ex angustis, quàm illæ occupari pos-
 sint ab *Ernestianis*, quos, numero et viribus im-
 pares, objici veterano exercitui, et successibus
 feroci: enimvero motis simul omnibus copiis,
 parem fore cum hoste congressum, et locis æ-
 quis æquam fortunam, si totus transierit: at si
 modò partem sui explicuisset è faucibus transi-
 tûs, uti angustia viarum et temporis, incertaq;
 noctis persuadebant, in promptu victoriam:
 quod si citi, et omnes, hosti prævertant, itine-
 ris et belli arbitrium, occupantium fore. Jam
 adulta nox erat, cum acceptis, uti jussu fue-
 rat, *Solmensibus* copiis, quæ metatæ ultra fluvii
 expeditioni promptiores erant, *Ernestus* di-
 gre-

greditur. Sequebantur ducentia signa *Scotorum* duodecim: *Zelandi* centuriis septem, quinque equitum turmae: lectus miles, et fide meliori quam fortunâ. Vixdum orto die aggerem viæ ingressis, adventare hostem exploratores nuntiavere. Interfluebat in medio rivus, quem pontem *Maurinus* junxerat, hunc patiter & viam hosti auferre, immissis ocyus equitibus *Ernestus* jubet, nam limosa circum loca, aut paludibus incerta erant. Sed inVecti non minore impetu *Hispani* pontem anteceperant. Hoc irritò conatu, arma corporaque hosti obiciunt, stru-ctâ acie in viæ angustis, nullâ quidem boni spe, sed æmulatione obsequii, & curâ decori exitus. Irrupit hostis ferox & iratus; totaque exercitus mole incubuit: at illi, numero fatòq; dispares, firmati inter se, densis ordinibus excipere impetum, obniti prementibus, & inquietare victoriam. Obruti adversis, & salvâ virtutis famâ, cecidere omnes contrariis vulneribus, versi in hostem: adjacentibus prope fractis hastilibus, & infelicibus armis. Hoc pedites fato finivere. At *Ernestum Edmundumq; Scotorum* Tribunum, pernix equorum virtus ostendam intulit: subsecuto omni ferè equitatu, cui vitæ major quam gloriæ cupido. Ibi atroci nuntio perculsi *Ordines*, & ad preces ac supplicia versi nimias spes & præceps consilium execrabantur. Verùm Archidux *Albertus*, blandiente cœptis fortunâ, cumulos super & recentia cæde vestigia evectus properabat in littus: ipse prælii avidus, & seditiosorum maximè vocibus instinctus, qui, raptari imperium nō

ducerentur, occupari *Orangianos* in transitu fluminis, & extingui reliqua belli postulabant. Ceterum, digrediente è castris *Ernesto*, imperatum ceteris ducibus fuerat, ut, albente statim cœlo, sua quisque signa ad ripam fluvii sisterent, alveum transitura simul ac æstus detumuisset. Quare curam ducum studia militum æquaverant, dubiâ adhuc luce, compositis ordinibus flumini adstantium. Ibi, dum opperiuntur, donec sese æstus evolveret, *Mauritium*, haud procul à cepto ponte, procerum coronâ circumdatum, nuntius perculit de clade *Ernesti*, hostemque, jam transitis collibus, infesto agmine appropinquare in littore. Substitit *Princeps* defixus illætabili imagine, & magnæ cogitationis manifestus: obversante scilicet ingentis diei specie, quâ libertatem, decus, opes, spem Reipublicæ novissimam, in paucorum manibus & armis fortuna collocaverat. Sed diu bello exercitus, & tristium lætorumque sciens, nihil infracto animo unum gliscentibus periculis remedium docet, si, transmissio statim exercitu, ulteriorem ripam hosti præripiant; nî festinaverint, deprensis clausisque inulto sanguine pereundum. Ordo ducendi agminis illo die ad *Verium*, ritu militiæ, redierat. Hunc, prioris gloriæ virtutisque admonitum, ire properè, & agmen suum transmittere, unaque *Ludovicum Nassavium*, qui equitatu præerat, promptum ausis & laudi juvenem, transgredi jubet: ut, imminente fortunâ certaminis, maturo annis & spectato bellis rectore uteretur. Neque certis tamen mandatis *Verium Mauritius* instituerat,

xerat, pro re, loco, tempore, suoque belli usu, consulturum: tantâ virtutis & fidei opinione erat. Neque *Verio* cessatum, quin altiores adhuc inter undas agmen suum transduceret, per catervas & cuneos prælio compositum; adeo propterea, ut militi tegmina detracturo, ne marinâ immadescerent, tantillum moræ negaverit; addito, propinquis hostibus, inanem esse vestimenti curam: Suum enim cuique vel supervacuum ante noctem, vel siccum & opulentius prædæ & ului futurum. Ità traductos equitem peditemque: hos Oceanum inter & colles subsistere jubet in æquore littoris; illos correpto spatio propius invehit in hostem (eminus adhuc, tamen, ut cerni possit, incedentem in littore), non quidem irritando prælio; sed legendo, si quâ possit, æquiori loco, in quo impetum adventantium hostium exciperet sustentaretque: unum hoc etenim arti Imperatoriæ reliquum fortuna fecerat. Nam lubricum illud & versatilem in omnes flexus cohortium motum, quo *Mauritiana* militia præpollere *Hispanica* credebatur, inutilem fecerant Genius situsque regionis. Omnis enim exposita secundum mare planities, imminentium collium jugis obnoxia premitur: & ipsa collium temere disjecta congeries, præruptis undique tumulis & obliquo glomeratu inter se transversis exsurgit, ut inter anfractus nec oculis provideri, nec manu succurri laborantibus possit: plurimâque sui parte id latitudini spatium est, cui explendæ insidendæque impar esset *Mauritanus* exercitus. Unde periculum erat,

erat, nè introrsum, & quâ rumor collium sub-
 dit, per incustodita transgressus hostis hæren-
 tem vadis in navali *Nuportano* classem incendio
 popularetur. Nam ad Meridiem, inter ima
 collium & impervia pascuorum, læve virentis
 campi dorsum porrigitur equiti peditiq; firmū
 juxta & inoffensum. Huic obviā discrimini
Verius ibat, cū, quatuor à *Nuporto* passuum
 millibus, advertit inter colles locum, ubi tumu-
 lorum fastigia celsius in Septentriones, in Me-
 ridiem lenius afferuntur, sinūque universam
 collium molem, transverso cavæ vallis interje-
 cti diductam penitus abscindi : castigatori
 ibidem latitudinis spatium, & cui occupanda
 non impares copix, hinc introrsus & per cam-
 pi dorsum, inde planitie littoris transiturum
 hostem infestis supernè telis incessituræ. Hâc
 regione, opportunis citra vallim, quam memo-
 ravi, collium tumulis, expectare hostem & for-
 tunam prælii constituit. Igitur ex agmine suo
 jam procedere jussu mille virorum robora ex-
 cerpsit : Prætorianos *Mauritii* ducentos &
 quinquaginta, hastatos sclopetariosque : *Anglos*
 paribus numero & armis : *Frisios* duplici nu-
 mero, sed omnes sclopetarios. Et *Anglos* qui-
 dem, admittis quinquaginta Prætorianis, sum-
 mitati collis imposuit, qui in sinum memora-
 tæ convallis projectior ceteris excurrit, præ-
 ceptis, abruptus, & ob mollitiem arenæ adcen-
 su arduus, ac vertice in tantam cavitatem de-
 presso, ut miles ab collium adversorum ictu-
 bus tutus, è margine & labris tumuli, tanquam
 è vallo & lorica, propugnaret. Ponè hunc col-
 lem

lem passuum ducentorum intervallo insurgit alter, præcelso & insigni fastigio: illum insidere reliquos Prætorianos jubet, suoque ingenio juxta validum, & addito levi manuum opere, haud minus tutum: connectit utrumque velut aggestus arenæ perpetuus, paræ naturæ, sed depressiori fastigio, qui rectus ad orientem Solem, latere in Austrum obtenditur, subjacente intra vim & jactum telorum omni campo, quem inter infida pascuorum & collium radices pervium memoravi. Hujus incessum & tutelam *Frisiis* attribuit, jussis, ubi res ad manus venisset, tela sua & vulnere in Meridiem spargere, quæ tum cœli regio dextra erat in hostem obversis. Sed ab aggestus hujus, quem diximus, sinistra, quæ Oceanum spectat, inter prærupta & confusa collium, locis naturâ tutis munitisq;, *Anglos* collocat septingentos, vultu & armis versos in Boream, & in vicinam subjectâq; littoris planitiem, integris ordinibus, ubi usus posceret, facile prorupturos: hos tela sua & fulgura vibrare in oculos & ora hostium jusserrat, si fortè transitum in littore molirentur. Secundum hos in ipsa planitie, quam verberat Oceanus, sed paulo in Ortum productius, quicquid reliquum *Anglorum*, & erant admodum sexcenti, explicuit gemino agmine, & æquis frontibus. Modico post *Anglos* intervallo, et propiores mari, bis mille *Frisi*, quatuor agminibus, sed binis in frontem, astiterè. Densatis arctatisque manipulorum ordinibus, ipsa agmina patentioribus spatiis discreverat, ut postremorum inter primos facili

receptum, viribus & audaciâ mutuis singuli augerentur; & interim non obumbrantibus alias aliis, universa simul copiar, majore specie sui, hostium oculos implerent. Equites, signis decem, Oceano proximi, & omnium in Orientem primi, nudatam æstu arenam tenere. Vixdum primorem aciem *Verius* intruxerat, cum *Mauritius*, comitante totâ Procerum manu, ante prima signa equo advectus, tractare palam coepit consilia viasque prælii circumfullos militum Principes percunctans, num illis in vestigiis opperiri hostem, an ire cominus & ultro laceffere constantius foret. Nihil æquè indecorum viris militaribus quàm argui timoris. Igitur, abruptâ consultandi morâ, Duces certatim proclamant, *Capienda arma, duccendum in hostem*, non imperu modò, sed ratione. Minorem scilicet hostibus animum fore, quò majorem ipsi prætulerint, audaciâ conciliari fortunam; & siquæ speciosius jactat militaris facundia: ac cunctari, & summa rei discrimen trahere, propius formidinem esse, cujus opinione vel aliturum hostem fiduciam sui, vel usurum morâ cunctantium ad usum belli, intercepto interim castris limite qui *Ostendam* ducit, unde arcti & infesti undique commeatus inexplicabilis receptus. Ad ea *Verius* multâ militari prudentiâ diserebat; Hostem, improvise tumultu excitum, inopem esse copiarum; æstare jam præcipiti, inanibus horreis, & attrita regione. Quare frustra timeri, ut positis ibi castris subsidat, moliturus famem exercitui, cui congesta in naves

naves cibaria et apertus subvectioni Oceanus:
 Nec vereri se vanam illam fiduciam et cito de-
 fluxuram, ubi post tanta numerum spatia, per-
 uisti Solis ardoribus, et attingentes collum are-
 nas vestigiis infidas et arduas adscensus, se si-
 cum integris, turbati cum compositis colli-
 gressi, non loco minus quam viresque pellerem-
 tur. Ipsos satis cito victurus, ubi provisi-
 foret, ne vincerentur. At Quæres eo perque-
 citus consilium solum amplexi, plangore jam et
 strepitu Verum obcurbabant, nec sequi illis
 animi, voce, et oculis ardens, suis se senten-
 tia aut loco motumiri negabat, non si totius
 orbis impulsuingeretur, donec animo sum-
 sententiarumque discordiam, approbato Veri
 consilio. *Mahinus* composuit. Itaque ad or-
 dinandas ceteras res, quæ iam in viam trans-
 iterant, reuertens est. Illis quidem, resorbente
 aestu prout arena nudaverant, expansis in lito-
 re, suam cuique agmini equentia assidue cor-
 nu sinistro, quod Oceano proximam. At
 sex Tormenta in frontem Veri agminis pro-
 moveri iussit, incepti mox ad victoriam ad-
 jumento. Sic instructi in contum hostem e-
 minus adstantem opperiebantur. At ille, cum
 duabus horis loco non movisset, de viis qua-
 demque litore, collum impedita transversio
 itineris flexu pertransiit, ad quorum iudices,
 ubi in campos desinunt, pares iterum hor-
 ras refovendo milites abstempit. Unde opinio
 rumorque invaluit, hostem obsepiendi li-
 neri castra in medio positum, sed apud igna-
 ros militiæ, et consilia hostium ex rerum ab-
 -neguq

rimantes inanis vulnorum rationibus revince-
bantur. Ideo scilicet festinatum hosti, ut ipsos
vel transitu fluminis praecluderet, vel impedi-
cos in stratis aggrederesur, tanta spes iri-
tura, & nocturno praelio, et matutino itinere
festum subsistisse in litoribus, haud absurde opi-
naretur ipsos (quibus in loco necessitas, una
salus in armis) ultro incubituros, primum spe
propioris ab Ernesto auxilii, si forte copias O-
stendam receperit, rolex cupidine ultionis, si cla-
dente auxilio perirentur. Nunc comperta ip-
sorum loco se tenentium constantia, & urgente
annonæ penuria, tum dare in casum, periculis-
simali litoris commoditatem impetum, ad
requiem militis, simul expectare, donec ada-
bente pelago, ut flagrantibus radiis corripitur
planities, ne veteranus pedes, et nulla prælio-
rum fortuna astutus, patensibus locis equestri
procella funderetur. His rerum argumentis et
sententiis et loqui prudentes trebantur. Me-
dio fere intumescens Oceani æstu, hostium
copiæ, transmissis iterum collibus regressæ in
litus. Incidit in prælio, procurantibus haud
modico ante aciem intervallo aliquot densis ar-
matæ equitibus, quorum unus sponte ruens
et præsternans cæpi, protractusque ad Mauriti-
um, clara voce, Ernesti cladem imminens præli-
um, robur et virtutem Hispanum, et eundem in
majus extollebat. Et quanquam, Mauriti jussu,
os declamandi clauderetur, proximi tamen
militem, quæ tristitia acceperant, opusculari
merore in vicinos, et alii rursus in alios,
vel voce, vel vulnibus cruciabant. At Ernesti
pugnan-

pugnandi certus, & cunctis jam astu, maxime
 gare classem jubet, quò, subacta spe fuga, ma-
 nus & arma miles respiceret, & in illis omnia.
 Aderat illi frater, *Henricus Fredericus* primâ ju-
 ventâ; hunc monuit, ut ascensâ navis, si quid
 tristius, facerent, se Republicæ redderet.
 Verùm ille aspernans, nec degenere se ad pe-
 ricula testatus, ut maneret, virtutemque illo in
 campo ex fratre Imperatore disceret, cum la-
 crymis exorabatur: jam non instinctus cupi-
 dine gloriæ, quâ postmodum seculi sui invidi-
 am pariter & laudes supergressus est. Propter
 quabam interm. legionum hostilium, ac
 præstante equitum, insigni specie, sed aded
 distanti spatio, ut totus in pugnam pateret, &
 casum; itaque *Kerius* equitem primi agminis
 inveni suaserat, qui acriter aliquot armatorum
 imperu velitantes, hostium Garabinarios, & cum
 impingeret in agmen turmarum, & ausas tur-
 sus instantesque turmas, sponta refugus elicer-
 ret sub istum Tormentorum, ut pilis disiectæ
 percussæque totâ protinus equitum vi proster-
 rentur. Verùm *Ludovicus Doffarius* dignationis
 anxius, aspernatus rectorum & consilium, nul-
 lo adfultu imperique in hostem inveni, sed
 turmas lente ingruentibus cedere paulatim, &
 referri in suas. Cum acriter consultis cæsesutio
 deesset, & non ita procul abessent hostium
 turmar, librari Tormenta *Kerius* jubet, nec ir-
 ricis libratorum ictibus, montes & villæ tot-
 to agmine sparguntur; unde obliti de decore e-
 quites, trepidâ fugâ, et solutis ordinibus, vici-
 norum collum latebris se ruebantur: quæ res

macram & inveniendam victoriam Nassavianis equitibus præbuisse, si prompti & alacres, fractis & obtritis hostium turmis, nudatas equitum præsidio legiones perripissent. Aemulatione, & occulta invidia, pulcherrimi facinoris occasio defluxit. At pedites hostiam extravim casumque fulminem, nihil labante fiducia, & continuato per litus itinere, Tormentis ante aciem longius eVectis, eadem illam non vanis ignibus ulciscabantur. Dum hæc geruntur, adereverant unde magna que sui parte stagnabat planities, adeo ut utriusque exercitus milites arctioribus manipulatim ordinibus illicaretur. At hostis, inopino flexu avertens a litore, cum omnibus copiis in edis collium emitebatur, siue consilium id fuisset, ut equite minor, peditum robore inter impedita valeret, siue metus intonantium in litore Tormentorum, certe non adeo maris ignarus erat, ut improvisa æstuum vice, destinatione sua excuteretur. Unde sicut agminum, ita novæ consiliorum formæ oriebantur. Et hostium quidem equitatus, transverso per colles itinere eVectus, virenti illa, quam supra memoravi, inter infida camporum, tumulorumque arenas, planitie substitit. In Mauritiano exercitu prima acies, mutatis leviter ordinibus, locis penitus iisdem inhierebat: at secundam postremamque e litore in colles subductas, paribus a latere & tergo intervallis cura Ducum discreverat, quibus antea in litore distincta steterant, ita ut æstium acierum frontibus omnis collium latitudo expleretur: equites, eadem illa planitie turmis hostilibus

hostilibus oppositi, cœni agmine, pro loci angustis, exporrigebantur. Cœmpolito jam pugnae exercitum, Tormenta duos, monstrante *Verrio*, & *Mauritio* iubente, in fastigium tumuli subvecta sunt; quorum telis omnis illa planities, quam equitatus occupaverat, superne infestaretur. Sic omnibus ad novissimum casum paratis, digressuri ad sua quisque munia Duces, gravibus sanè *Mauritii* animum argumentis pervicerunt, ut postremam Ipse aciem præfens curaret; minoribus periculis non immixtus, majoribus non defuturus. *Verrius* ad primam advectus, ubi alacrem instinctumque militem videt, in vertice collis, quem prominere præ ceteris in vallem, & infessum *Alyis* Prætorianisque supra retuli, velut in specula constitit; arduus, & vago in subjecta prospectu, unde & hostem observaret & regeret suos. Elegerat hunc, ut defensantibus oportunitatem & erupturis iniquum, in quo cum fato diei transigeret, et quamvis ratio prælii frequentem totâ acie Ducem posceret, qui promptos laudes labantes opè, dubios exemplo firmaret, prohibebat tamen, ratio situsque loci, inaequali regione, ubi inter obliquos & implicatos collium anfractus, nec ipse visu hostem, nec illius imperium miles vel oculis vel auribus assequerentur. Jam præcurrentes à principis hostium sclopetarii, quos vitæ prodigos & obvios mortis, militari vocabulo *Perditos* vocant, occupatis collium valli imminentiū supercilis, *Verrii* militem glandium coniectu laceffere, dum prima suorum acies adventaret, quâ adpropinquante,

quante, quingenti numero *Hispani*, non tam hastis, sclopiisq; quàm virtute & animis armati, nullo prælato vexillo, neque certo imperio, lati periculis, & decôris avidi, impetu in ardua factò, quanquam gravibus supernè ictibus affligerentur, percurrere *Veri* collem insigni patientiâ vulnerum annitebantur. Eodemque momento primæ aciei eques per planitiem erupit in *Mauritanos*, quos sollers Ducum cura à latere mediæ agminis retrorsum instruxerat. Stacim fulminantibus è vertice tumuli *Tormentis*, promptissimi quiq; proruebantur; reliqui præter latus *Veriani* agminis progressi, à quingentis illis, quos suprà memoraui, *Frisi* in Meridiem collineantibus, tam infestâ scloporum grandine verberabantur, ut percussi turbatique post primum *Mauritianorum* impetum, scdâ retro fugâ in peditum agmen impingerentur. Ibi fugæ temperatum & cædi. Majoribus animis pedites collem aggressi factum provocabant & gloriam; adjuti firmatiq; creberrimâ vi telorum, quibus prima *Hispanorum* acies suis è fastigiis *Veriani* collis propugnatores superurgebat. At *Verius*, incrudescens ferociâ hostium, ex *Anglis* septingentis, quos in Boream obversos, proximis littori jugis arcendo illac hosti locaverat, centum signi unius milites accersiri jubet, occultis inter prominentia collium gressibus, repentino impetu in latus oppugnantium incurfatuos. Illi cum impigrè paruisent imperio, majorémq; quàm pro numero terrorem inferrent, *Verius* è summo vertice, per obiectum cavumque collis descen-

descensum, sexaginta subliguanos in frontem præliantium demisit. Obstupefecit hostem rumentium alacritas, pulsisque gradu, et protinus in fugam. *Verianus* miles totâ valle inhaerebat, multâ pernicie, donec aciei primæ suffugio protegerentur. Inde novus iterum globus integri militis, neque numero, nec animis, nec impetu minor, suis quisque signis & ordinibus soluti, æmulatione gloriæ prouunt, proteruntque *Verianos*, quorum acerrimus quisque sequentium, versâ pugnae fortunâ, fugæ ultimus erat. Surgebant in ipsa valle aliquot colliculi, modico tumore: hos *Hispani*, dum cedentibus instant, arripiunt, ingenti locorum oportunitate, obiectis dejectu laterum hastatis, & erectis in vertices sclopetariis, unde acrior propiorque vis glandium in velitantes *Verii* vexillarios ingruerat. Ipse terram suis eripi flagitii ratus, centenos iterum ex *Anglia* custodibus littoris, excitos & permistos ceteris, ire ocyus, & deturbare tumultis hostem iubet. Prælium ibi atrox, varium, anceps, his, rursus illis, exitiabile. Modò glandibus, volatili malo, sæpe collato gradu, manibus, corpore, armis annexi implexique, sternebant & sternebantur, à fronte, à tergo, cominus, eminus, sed certior eminus pernicies: patienti quippe valle, nec colliculorum modò, ad quos pugna exarserat, sed infessorum utrinque collium ignibus & procellis telorum infestâ. Unde missus hinc inde in subsidium miles, festinato per vallē cursu, ruere in latera tumulorum, ubi à longinquis & inultis ictibus tuti, honestâ morte non

inglorii caderent. Neque segnius qui tumulos infederant, impellere scandentes, detrudere obvios, ferire sclopiis, fodere pugionibus: utrinque pudor, utrinque gloria: utrobique vulnera, sanguis, cædes, stragesque, variâ pereuntium formâ, & omni imagine mortium; donec, obstinatis inter se *Verianis*, labantes *Hispanorum* copiarum tumulis proturbarentur. Dum in valle mutuis invicem cladibus inter primanos saevitur: media hostium acies per arduum progressa ad primam propinquaverat, eodemque quo prima, positum in dextra collium ad sinistram primæ, levi intervallo, & adæquatâ ambarum fronte, constitit: primum apertior, mox adversorum collium telis percussa, cautius, & flexis aut prominentibus jugis obumbrata magis quàm obtecta. Ex hac, sæta viris animisque, rursus in vallem, & infedentes *Verianos* promptissimi ruebant: plerique militiæ veteres, & clari bello, aucta stipendia & sua quisque decora præferentes. Neque, *Verius* cessabat suis cursu pugnâque fessis, & recentium robore inpetuque inclinantibus, & impulsis, integros submittere, quorum virtute instauratum denovo prælium, & æquata pugna est. Sic alternante, prout subsidia invaluerant, successu, hi, rursus illi, pellebant et pellebantur, dato haustoque non modico sanguine. Par utrinque studium rapiendæ vallis, & in tuenda non impar virtus & pertinacia: sola collium oportunitas, provisu ducis, *Verianis* æquior erat, stabili gradu & tanquam è vallo vulnera dirigentibus in hostem, malè tectum in collibus, in valle apertum:

tum: unde crebrior in illum cædes, clades dam-
nosior: & obstinaverat animo *Verius*, in se &
primam aciem, quamvis diuturnitate pugnae
exhaustam & infrequentem, totam *Hispani* ex-
ercitus molem avertere, ut attrito carptum ho-
stium robore, segnis postea & imbellior nume-
rus, pulsu imperiūq; recentium exterriti, à me-
dia et postrema *Mauritianorum* acie perrupti ob-
tererentur. Non improspere interim, aciei me-
diae proprius eques suo in campo tuebatur in
Mauricianos, qui successu prioris pugnae fero-
ces, avidius quam consultius, extra cohortis
Frisiae tutelam proruperant: sed illa labantibus
et retro versis, contra vim elademque, conje-
ctis desuper in sequentes telis, munimento fu-
it: Ita impetus stetit et manibus aquis ab-
cessum. At postrema hostium acies ad sini-
stram collium proventa, impetu et specie fere-
batur incubitura in mediam ultimamq; *Mau-
ritianorum*, quæ intra conjectum celi pone *Veri-
anum* agmen instructa, & nullâ adhuc hostium
vi lacelsa fuerant: sed hi prætervecti dextrum
cornu *Verianæ* manus, ubi inter sum latus *Fri-
sis*, inter oportuna tumulorum collinantibus,
aperuerant, atroci & improvisa telorum tem-
pestate consternabantur, defixisque pudore si-
mul & metu, neque gradum inferre, neque fu-
gam consciscere in promptu fuit, donec in val-
lem vicinam inter inæquales arenarum adge-
stus sinuatam descenderent. His erga partes
meritis *Frisi*, diu hostium equiti, nunc pedi-
tū agmini graves, diem & nomen decoravê-
re. Sed è valle rursus, acerrimus quisq; & a-

nimo vel robore validus, effundebantur; soluti signis, sparsi conglobatîve, hostis laudisq; cupidine, Australia collium armis & tumultu permiscebant: cum his pugnam & arma per montosa spargentibus, lecta toto *Mauritiano* exercitu virorum robora, æquâ virtute, sed iniquis hosti locis, certabant; in quem ex edito et occulto collium, prægrandibus scloporum tubis, tela & cædes inulta ingerebantur. Minus acri discrimine equites novissimi agminis, & pariori sanguine, fortuna collidebat: ostentatæ enim hinc inde turmæ, post brevem impetum, extra teli hostilis adjectum sub præsidia suorum revehebantur; diversâ omnium, quæ ferè accidunt, præliorum facie: Nam cum pleræq; peditum fortunæ equestrium pugnarum facti temperentur, hæc è contrâ, spes & equitum virtus vi & oportunitate peditum nitebantur: nec exui campis fugarive eques poterat, quoad potens collium peditatus, armis & loco præpollebat; tutela pulsus, & prementibus infestus. Interim nihil remisso ad tumulos ardore pugnæ; primariis secundariisque hostium & *Verianus* miles, ferali invicem lanienâ, multa cum strage implicabantur. Hærebátque vir viro, & pede pes, nullóque missilibus spatio, gladiatorum & hastarum mucronibus vita & sanguis præliantium hauriebantur: adfluentibus hinc inde auxiliis, vel spe, vel metu, indomabili pertinaciâ, donec universa *Anglorum* cohors, præter paucos qui summa collium infederant, discrimini immisceretur. Nec sanè multi apud hostium acies

laborum periculorumque exsortes supererant; nomen magis legionum quam robur: abdu-
ctis cohortium viribus, et oportuna collum,
vel caesorum apud tumulos vestigia occupan-
tibus. Solus hostium eques composito agmi-
ne, et frequens apud signa erat: in illo, inte-
gris adhuc ordinibus, unicum robur, sed im-
par, et citò defluxurum in fugam, ubi nudi su-
orum praesidio peditum, ab equite *Mauritiano*,
recentium legionum peditibus immixto, im-
pellerentur. Itaque *Verius*, patefactam in
hostem ratus occasionem novissimi casus,
simulque reputans militem suum numero
minorem, nā validioribus subsidiis firmetur,
superante ex adverso multitudine, vel vi ho-
stium, vel suā lassitudine periturum, perni-
cibus nuntiis *Frisios* aciei primae pedites, quos
in littore instructos supra retuli, acciri jubet;
simul *Mauritio*, quo suae, quoque res hostium loco
sint, exponi; additis precibus, submitteret
properè secundi agminis equitem, eriperetque
devotam morti legionem. At prout hosti per-
cussos prementi ferocia, ita nunciatorum auxi-
lia implorantium preces, acrius intendeban-
tur. Ipse periculo suorum, summaeque rei per-
cussus, relicto colle, quem institerat, descendit
in vallem, praelioque eques occurrit: statim
advento crus glande trajicitur; nihil vulnere
territus, huc & illuc volitans, ferire hostem,
hortari suos, firmare animos, minuendo metu,
accendendā spe, & omnibus belli incitamen-
tis. Itā ruenti, & agrè sustentanti aciem, mis-
sile rursus plumbum graviore vulnere femur

transadigit: sed ille supremi discriminis anxius, sui incuriosus, nec ostentationem vulneribus neque fomenta adhibuit; certus non excedere prælio, nè fracti pugnantium animi hoc velut omine consternerentur? Et sane tot annorum stipendiis, tam durâ & exercitâ militiâ, *Neque Ducem militis, neque milites Ducis unquam panisarat.* Igitur durare in vim extremam constituit, & si fortuna contrâ daret, receptum non minus quàm arma temperare consiliis & exemplo, adversa tolerans spe subsidiorum, quæ tot nuntiis exciverat. Sed illis ad pugnam inpromptis, certò non satis properantibus, *Verianus* miles, numeris obrutus, misceri primò & turbari, tum referre pedem, cedere loco, mox turbine irruentium impelli. Nullum in illa trepidatione *Verius* Ducis officium, militisve omisit. Increpare paventes, retinere dubios, retrahere fugientes, consilio, manu, voce, insignis hosti, conspicuus suis contra fortunam obniti: sed impetu turbatorum abreptus propulsusque, celsit ad extremum ingruenti tempestati, ultimus & invitus. Cedentibus spes novissima erat in præsidio Tormentorum, itaque eluctati altitudinem arenæ inter collium salebras, illuc non effuso quidem, intento tamen per plana littoris gradu se recipiebant: impigro ad sequendum hostium equite, et tergis gravi. In littore obvias habuere *Frisiorum* cohortes, ferum et inane auxilium, quæ neque turbatis constantiam addidère, et alieni pavoris contactu in fugam auferebantur. At *Veri* cedentis equus plu-

pluribus in pugna vulneribus suffossus, tantâ tandem morte procumbens, pondere herum & toto cadavere implicuit: neque militum quis neque famulorum præstò erat ferendæ opî, & propè hostis aberat ferociâ ardens & successu. Insignem dies illa virum vidit *Thomam Highamium*; domo non obscurum, sed civis Ducisq; servati gloriâ nobilem, is è familia *Roberti Drurii* equitis *Angli*, & inter palantes Domino suo comes, simul equo & hosti incumbenribus subreptum Ducem imposuit intergum equi, quo *Drurium* vehabatur. Sic advectus sub Tormenta *Verius*, fratrem ibi reperit *Horatium* non indecorem fratri, & multis in bello Belgico palmis sæpe memorandum. Adstabant cum illo centuriones *Angli* Ianientæ superstites, & accisæ reliquæ pedites orcenti, loco certè, nondum spe & animis excussi, arma quippe, suprema victis solatia, retinebant. Hos immoto gradu consistere pro Tormentis, & ipsa in hostem toto jam littore volitantem explodi *Verius* jubet. Venerat hæc fortuna ferme eodem momento duas equitum turmas, quarum una proprius *Verii* miles; alteram *Balenius* decurio præsens regebat, acer & clarus militiâ: his imperat prorumpere in hostem pilarum turbine attonitum; misso statim fratre, qui equestrem impetum pedestri impressione subsequeretur. Redierat jam fortuna virtusque victis, tantâque vi peditum equitumque manus, numero exigua, animis ingens, incubuit in hostem, ut quantò ferocius ille fiducia victoriæ accurrerat, tantò acrius pul-

sus in fugam disjiceretur: Ingens ibi strages, &
 plurimum sanguinis, persultante planitiem e-
 quite, & ardente in eadem, hærentesque fu-
 gacium tergis victores in suffugia collium ir-
 rupere, planaque & edita pari terrore & exitio
 permiscebant. At hostium acies, quæ sub signis
 vexillisque summa collium, expertes prælii, in-
 sederant, admonitæ periculis excitabantur: nec
 ultorum commilitones ille motus erat, sed
 consulentium sibi, dabantque se incautos &
 indefensos telis: *Verianorum*, qui fastigiis suis
 immoti, in hostem apertum & expositum atroci
 procellâ detonabant. Simul ceteri *Anglorum*,
 exciti prospero clamore, & insigni ferociâ vi-
 ctoriæ se miscentes, incursabant nutantes ho-
 stium acies impellebantque, fulgentes quidem
 signis, sed nudatas & infrequentes milite, ab-
 ducto jam antè & attrito in subsidia pugnæ
 sclopetariorum robore, quorum locis inæqua-
 libus præcipuus usus est. Inclinatâ demum
 spe hostium, secundam aciem, equitem juxta
 peditemque, in consternatos invehit *Mauritius*
 jubet. At hostis fugam circumspectans, pulsu,
 sonituque, & nube ipsâ invadentium super-
 fundebatur. Tum verò atrox ubique specta-
 culum, fugere, capi, vulnerare, trucidari: pas-
 sim arma & corpora, & laceri artus, & cruen-
 ta humus. Fortissimus quisque ex *Hispanis*,
 quantum peditum erat, funduntur. Rapra sig-
 na vexillaque centum & viginti, modico equi-
 tum sanguine. Apud *Mauritanos* dispari fato,
 cruentati equites: duæ peditum acies propè
 illasæ. Asperrima *Anglorum* fortuna fuit, o-
 ctingenti.

Extincti milites in pugna occisi, trucidati octo
Centuriones, reliqui, duobus exceptis, vulne-
rati: Et ferè nemo in illis cohortibus, vel ordi-
ne, vel animo ante vulgus fuit, quem non dies
ista sicuti virtute, sic teste virtutis vulnere in-
signiverit.

The next day towards evening the enemies (con-
-ditioners, Olan and Olan, Olan and Olan, Olan and Olan,
-gain: General Vere did his best entertainment of them
was better than his first: for he then treated them
made them the best cheer he could, drank many healths
as the Queen of England, the King of Spain,
the Archduke, Prince Maurice, and divers o-
thers, and the next day he sent before him
Major Sir George Vere, and the chief Officers of
the town, whom he had invited to keep them company,
and drinking drank freely led them into his own house
and laid them in his own bed to take their rest.

FINIS.
The Commissioners going to bed, the General took
his leave of them, and presently after went to the old
town where he found Captain Dexter, and Captain
Clark with their men silent at work, and having
been with them in house or two to give them healths
our report they should be returning to his lodging, he
and him down upon his knees, and gave me charge
that on morn before day I should go to Captain Dexter
and command him from him, not to draw off his men
till the drawing of the day, but that they should follow
their work till day, and coming to him at the time ap-
pointed, according to my Lord's command, after the
break of day we looked out towards the sea, and observed
the men of War come out of Zealand, riding on the

Add this, Page 161. after line 21.
 "Concerning what was done within the
 "town during the Treaty, Henry Hoxham
 "gives us this further account upon his own
 "knowledge.

THe next day towards evening the enemies Com-
 missioners, Cerano and Ottanes, returned a-
 gain: Generall Vere his last entertainment of them
 was better then his first; for he then feasted them,
 made them the best chear he could, drank many healths,
 as the Queen of England's, the King of Spain's,
 the Archduke's, Prince Maurice's, and divers o-
 thers, and discoursed with them at the table before his
 brother Sir Horace Vere, and the chief Officers of
 the town, whom he had invited to keep them companie;
 and having drunk freely led them into his own cham-
 ber, and laid them in his own bed to take their rests.

The Commissioners going to bed, the Generall took
 his leave of them, and presently after went to the old
 town, where he found Captain Dexter, and Captain
 Clark with their men silently at work, and having
 been with them an houre or two to give them directi-
 ons what they should do, returning to his lodging, he
 laid him down upon his quilt, and gave me charge,
 that an houre before day I should go to Ralph Dexter
 and command him from him, not to draw off his men
 till the dawning of the day, but that they should follow
 their work lustily. And coming to him at the time ap-
 pointed, according to my Lords command, after the
 break of day we looked out towards the sea, and espied
 five men of War come out of Zeland, riding in the
 rode,

rode, which had brought foure hundred men, and some materials for the sea-works; and coming home, I wakened my Master, and told him the first news of it. He presently sent for the Captain of the shallops and long-boats, which lancing out landed them on the strand, by our new middle-haven: and notwithstanding the enemy shot mightily upon them with their Cannon from their foure batteries on the East and West-side to sink them, and hinder their landing, yet did they no other harm, but onely burt three Mariners.

These pieces of Ordnance rouzed Cerano from his naked bed, who knocking asked me, what was the reason of this shooting: I answered him in French, Il y avoit quelque gens d'Armes des nostres entres dans la ville; whereat he was much amazed, and would hardly give credit to it, till Captain Potley, who came with these ships, and whom he knew well, was brought before him, and assured him it was so.

FINIS.
